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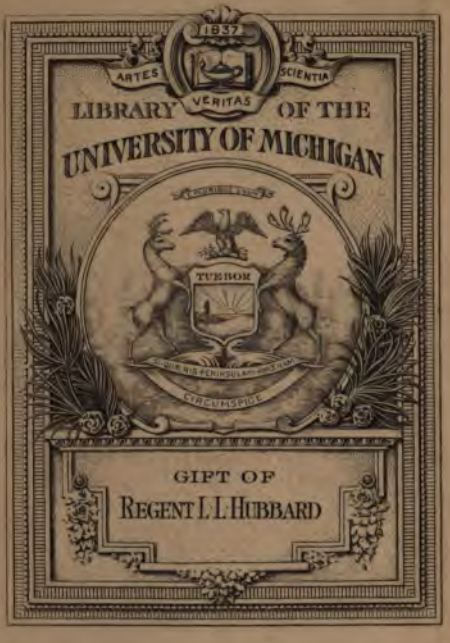
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THE WORKS

OF

Dr *JONATHAN SWIFT*,

DEAN of ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME IX.

EDINBURGH:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE pleaſure Dean SWIFT's Works have already afforded will be a ſufficient apology for communicating to the Reader, tho' ſomewhat out of ſeaſon, theſe additional Volumes; who will be leſs diſpleaſed, that they have been ſo long ſuppreſſed, than thankful that they are now at laſt publiſhed. We have no occaſion to apologize for the Pieces themſelves; for as they have all the internal marks of genuineneſs, ſo, by their further opening the Author's private correſpondence, they diſplay the goodneſs of his heart, no leſs than the never-ceaſing ſallies of his wit. His anſwer to *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church* is a remarkable inſtance of both; which, though unfiniſhed, and but the ſlight proluſions of his ſtrength, ſhew how ſincere, how able a *champion* he was of religion

and

and the church. So ſoon as theſe were printed in *Dublin*, in a new edition of the Dean's works, it was a juſtice due to them to ſelect them thence, to complete the *London* edition. Like the Author, though they owe their birth to *Ireland*, they will feel their maturity in *Britain*, and each nation will contend which ſhall receive them with greater ardour.

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THE

A

SERMON

ON

FALSE WITNESS.

EXODUS xx. 16.

Thou ſhalt not bear falſe Witneſs againſt thy Neighbour.

IN thoſe great changes that are made in a country, by the prevailing of one party over another, it is very convenient that the prince, and thoſe who are in authority under him, ſhould uſe all juſt and proper methods for preventing any miſchief to the public from ſeditious men. And Governors do well, when they encourage any good ſubject to diſcover (as his duty obligeth him) whatever plots or conſpiracies may be any way dangerous to the ſtate: Neither are they to be blamed, even when they receive informations from bad men, in order to find out the truth, when it concerns the public welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill opinion of an informer; although it is not impoſſible, but an honeſt man may be called by that name. For whoever knoweth any thing, the telling of which would prevent ſome great evil to his Prince, his country, or his neighbour, is bound in conſcience to reveal it. But the miſchief is, that when parties are violently inflamed, which ſeemeth unfortunately to be our caſe at preſent, there is never wanting a ſett of evil inſtruments, who either out of mad zeal, private hatred, or filthy lucre, are always ready to offer their ſervice to the prevailing ſide, and become accuſers *of their brethren*, without any regard to truth *or charity*. *Holy David* numbers this among the chief *of his ſufferings; Falſe witneſſes are riſen up againſt me,*

and

and ſuch as breath out cruelty [*a*]. Our Saviour and his apoſtles did likewiſe undergo the ſame diſtreſs, as we read both in the Goſpels and the Acts.

Now, becauſe the ſin of falſe witneſſing is ſo horrible and dangerous in itſelf, and ſo odious to God and man: And becauſe the bitterneſs of too many among us is riſen to ſuch a height, that it is not eaſy to know where it will ſtop, or how far ſome weak and wicked minds may be carried by a miſtaken zeal, a malicious temper, or hope of reward, to break this great commandment delivered in the text: Therefore, in order to prevent this evil, and the conſequences of it, at leaſt among you who are my hearers, I ſhall,

I. FIRST, Shew you ſeveral ways by which a man may be called a falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour.

II. SECONDLY, I ſhall give you ſome rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourſelves againſt the malice and cunning of falſe accuſers.

III. AND laſtly, I ſhall conclude with ſhewing you very briefly, how far it is your duty, as good ſubjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witneſs when you are lawfully called to it by thoſe in authority, or by the ſincere advice of your own conſciences.

I. As to the firſt, there are ſeveral ways by which a man may be juſtly called a falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour.

Firſt, According to the direct meaning of the word, when a man accuſeth his neighbour without the leaſt ground of truth. So we read, *that* Jezebel *hired two ſons of* Belial *to accuſe* Naboth *for blaſpheming God and the King, for which, although he was entirely innocent, he was ſtoned to death* [*b*]. And, in our age, it is not eaſy to tell how many men have loſt their lives, been ruined in their fortunes, and put to ignominious puniſhment by the downright perjury of falſe witneſſes! The law itſelf in ſuch caſes being not able to protect the innocent. But this is ſo horrible a crime, that it doth not *need to* be aggravated by words.

A ſecond way by which a man becometh a falſe witneſs *is, when he* mixeth falſhood and truth together, or concealeth

[*a*] Pſal. xxvii. 12. [*b*] 1 Kings xxi. 13.

concealeth ſome circumſtances, which, if they were told, would deſtroy the falſhoods he uttereth. So the two falſe witneſſeſs who accuſed our Saviour before the chief Prieſts, by a very little perverting his words, would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for ſo it was among the *Jews* to propheſy any evil againſt the temple. *This fellow ſaid, I am able to deſtroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days* [*c*]; whereas the words, as our Saviour ſpoke them, were to another end, and differently expreſſed: For when the *Jews* aſked him to ſhew them a ſign, he ſaid, *Deſtroy this temple, and in three days I will raiſe it up*. In ſuch caſes as theſe, an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, ſince he neither can deny his words, nor perhaps readily ſtrip them from the malicious additions of a falſe witneſs.

Thirdly, A man is a falſe witneſs, when, in accuſing his neighbour, he endeavoureth to aggravate by his geſtures, and tone of his voice, or when he chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from ſomebody elſe. As if any one ſhould tell me that he heard another ſpeak certain dangerous and ſeditious ſpeeches, and I ſhould immediately accuſe him for ſpeaking them himſelf; and ſo drop the only circumſtance that made him innocent. This was the caſe of St *Stephen*. The falſe witneſſes ſaid, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy place and the law* [*d*]. Whereas St *Stephen* ſaid no ſuch words; but only repeated ſome propheſies of *Jeremiah* or *Malachi*, which threatened *Jeruſalem* with deſtruction if it did not repent: However, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy perſon was ſtoned to death for words he never ſpoke.

Fourthly, The blackeſt kind of falſe witneſſes are thoſe who do the office of the *Devil*, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any inſtances of this kind mentioned in holy ſcripture: But I am afraid, this vile practice hath been too much followed in the world. When a man's temper hath been ſo ſoured by misfortunes and hard uſage, that perhaps he hath reaſon enough to complain; then one of theſe

[*c*] Matth. xxvi. 6. [*d*] Acts vi. 13.

theſe ſeducers, under the pretence of friendſhip, will ſeem to lament his caſe, urge the hardſhips he hath ſuffered, and endeavour to raiſe his paſſions, until he hath ſaid ſomething that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate againſt him in a court of juſtice.

Fifthly, Whoever beareth witneſs againſt his neighbour, out of a principle of malice and revenge, from any old grudge, or hatred to his perſon; ſuch a man is a falſe witneſs in the ſight of GOD, although what he ſays be true; becauſe the motive or cauſe is evil, not to ſerve his prince or country, but to gratify his own reſentments. And therefore, although a man thus accuſed may be very juſtly puniſhed by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuſer, who, inſtead of regarding the public ſervice, intended only to glut his private rage and ſpite.

Sixthly, I number among falſe witneſſes all thoſe who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour and reward; and to this end employ their time, either by liſtening in public places, to catch up an accidental word; or in corrupting men's ſervants to diſcover any unwary expreſſion of their maſter; or thruſting themſelves into company, and then uſing the moſt indecent ſcurrilous language; faſtening a thouſand falſhoods and ſcandal upon a whole party, on purpoſe to provoke ſuch an anſwer as they may turn to an accuſation. And truly this ungodly race is ſaid to be grown ſo numerous, that men of different parties can hardly converſe together with any ſecurity. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the miſrepreſentation of theſe informers; of whom the clergy have not wanted occaſions to complain with holy *David: They daily miſtake my words, all they imagine is, to do me evil.* Nor is it any wonder at all, that this trade of informing ſhould be now in a flouriſhing condition, ſince our caſe is manifeſtly thus; we are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper towards each other: The prevailing ſide may talk of paſt things as they pleaſe, with ſecurity; and generally do it in the moſt provoking words they can invent; while thoſe who are down are ſometimes tempted to ſpeak in favour of a loſt cauſe, and therefore, without

without great caution, muſt needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furniſh plenty of materials for witneſſes and informers.

Laſtly, Thoſe may well be reckoned among falſe witneſſes againſt their neighbour, who bring him into trouble and puniſhment by ſuch accuſations as are of no conſequence at all to the public, nor can be of any other uſe but to create vexation. Such witneſſes are thoſe, who cannot hear an idle intemperate expreſſion, but they muſt immediately run to the magiſtrate to inform; or perhaps wrangling in their cups over-night, when they were not able to ſpeak or apprehend three words of common ſenſe, will pretend to remember every thing in the morning, and think themſelves very properly qualified to be accuſers of their brethren. God be thanked, the throne of our King [e] is too firmly ſettled to be ſhaken by the folly and raſhneſs of every ſottiſh companion. And I do not in the leaſt doubt, that when thoſe in power begin to obſerve the falſhood, the prevarication, the aggravating manner, the treachery and ſeducing, the malice and revenge, the love of lucre; and laſtly, the trifling accuſations in too many wicked people, they will be as ready to diſcourage every ſort of thoſe whom I have numbered among falſe witneſſes, as they will be to countenance honeſt men, who, out of a true zeal to their Prince and country, do, in the innocence of their hearts, freely diſcover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good chriſtian will think it ſufficient to reprove his brother for a raſh unguarded word, where there is neither danger nor evil example to be apprehended; or, if he will not amend by reproof, avoid his converſation.

II. And thus much may ſerve to ſhew the ſeveral ways whereby a man may be ſaid to be a falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour. I might have added one kind more, and it is of thoſe who inform againſt their neighbour out of fear of puniſhment to themſelves, which, although it be more excuſable, and hath leſs of malice than any of the reſt, cannot however be juſtified. I go on therefore upon the ſecond head, to give you ſome rules

[e] George I.

rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

It is readily agreed, that innocence is the best protection in the world; yet that it is not always sufficient without some degree of prudence, our Saviour himself intimateth to us, by instructing his disciples *to be wise as serpents, as well as innocent as doves.* But, if ever innocence be too weak a defence, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious times, when factions are arrived to an high pitch of animosity, and the minds of men, instead of being warmed by a true zeal for religion, are inflamed only by party-fury. Neither is virtue itself a sufficient security in such times, because it is not allowed to be virtue, otherwise than as it hath a mixture of party.

However, although virtue and innocence are no infallible defence against perjury, malice and subornation, yet they are great supports for enabling us to bear those evils with temper and resignation; and it is an unspeakable comfort to a good man under the malignity of evil mercenary tongues, that a few years will carry his appeal to an higher tribunal, where false witnesses, instead of daring to bring accusations before an All-seeing Judge, will call for mountains to cover them. As for earthly judges, they seldom have it in their power; and, GOD knows, whether they have it in their will, to mingle mercy with justice; they are so far from knowing the hearts of the accuser or the accused, that they cannot know their own; and their understanding is frequently biassed, although their intentions be just. They are often prejudiced to causes, parties, and persons, through the infirmity of human nature, without being sensible themselves that they are so: And therefore, although GOD may pardon their errors here, he certainly will not ratify their sentences hereafter.

However since, as we have before observed, our Saviour prescribeth to us to be not only harmless as doves, but wise as serpents; give me leave to prescribe to you some rules, which the most ignorant person may follow for the conduct of his life with safety in perilous times *against* false accusers.

1*st*, Let

1*ſt*, Let me adviſe you to have nothing at all to do with that which is commonly called politics, or the government of the world: in the nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant, and when your opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from ignorance, it ſhall be an accuſation againſt you. Beſides, opinions in government are right or wrong juſt according to the humour and diſpoſition of the times; and, unleſs you have judgment to diſtinguiſh, you may be puniſhed at one time for what you would be rewarded in another.

2*dly*, Be ready at all times in your words and actions to ſhew your loyalty to the king that reigns over you. This is the plain manifeſt doctrine of holy ſcripture. *Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme*, &c. [*f*] And another apoſtle telleth us, *The powers that be are ordained of God.* Kings are the ordinances of man by the permiſſion of God, and they are ordained of God by his inſtrument man. The powers that be, the preſent powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in ſome ſenſe are the ordinances of man, are what you muſt obey, without preſuming to examine into rights and titles; neither can it be reaſonably expected, that the powers in being, or in poſſeſſion, ſhould ſuffer their title to be publicly diſputed by ſubjects without ſevere puniſhment. And to ſay the truth, there is no duty in religion more eaſy to the generality of mankind, than obedience to government: I ſay, to the generality of mankind; becauſe while their law, and property, and religion are preſerved, it is of no great conſequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no temptations to deſire a change.

3*dly*, In order to prevent any danger from the malice of falſe witneſſes, be ſure to avoid intemperance. If it be often ſo hard for men to govern their tongues when they are in their right ſenſes, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with drink? In thoſe caſes moſt men regard not what they ſay, and too many not what they ſwear; neither will a man's memory, diſordered

[*f*] 1. Pet. ii. 13.

with drunkenneſs ſerve to defend himſelf, or ſatisfy him whether he were guilty or no.

4thly, Avoid, as much as poſſible, the converſation of thoſe people, who are given to talk of public perſons and affairs, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe opinions in ſuch matters are different from yours. I never once knew any Diſputes of this kind managed with tolerable temper; but on both ſides they only agree as much as poſſible to provoke the paſſions of each other, indeed with this diſadvantage, that he who argueth on the ſide of power may ſpeak ſecurely the utmoſt his malice can invent; while the other lieth every moment at the mercy of an informer; and the law in theſe caſes will give no allowance at all for paſſion, inadvertency, or the higheſt provocation.

I come now in the laſt place to ſhew you how far it is your duty as good ſubjects and good neighbours to bear faithful witneſs, when you are lawfully called to it by thoſe in authority, or by the ſincere advice of your own conſciences.

In what I have hitherto ſaid, you eaſily find, that I do not talk of bearing witneſs in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thouſand accounts in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many ſcandalous corruptions, almoſt peculiar to this country, which would require to be handled by themſelves. But I have confined my diſcourſe only to that branch of bearing falſe witneſs, whereby the public is injured in the ſafety or honour of the prince, or thoſe in authority under him.

In order therefore to be a faithful witneſs, it is firſt neceſſary that a man doth not undertake it from the leaſt proſpect of any private advantage to himſelf. The ſmalleſt mixture of that leaven will ſour the whole lump. Intereſt will infallibly bias his judgment, altho' he be ever ſo firmly reſolved to ſay nothing but truth. He cannot ſerve God and Mammon: but as intereſt is his chief end, he will uſe the moſt effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumſtances to make his teſtimony valuable; he will be ſorry if the perſon he accuſeth ſhould be able to clear himſelf; in ſhort, he is *labouring a point* which he thinks neceſſary to his own

good;

good; and it would be a diſappointment to him, that his neighbour ſhould prove innocent.

5thly, Every good ſubject is obliged to bear witneſs againſt his neighbour, for any action or words, the telling of which would be of advantage to the public, and the concealment dangerous, or of ill example. Of this nature are all plots and conſpiracies againſt the peace of a nation, all diſgraceful words againſt a prince, ſuch as clearly diſcover a diſloyal and rebellious heart: But where our prince and country can poſſibly receive no damage or diſgrace; where no ſcandal or ill example is given; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a raſh or indiſcreet word, which in ſtrictneſs of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no further than warning and reproof.

In deſcribing to you the ſeveral kinds of falſe witneſſes, I have made it leſs neceſſary to dwell much longer upon this head; becauſe a faithful witneſs like every thing elſe is known by his contrary: Therefore it would be only repetition of what I have already ſaid to tell you, that the ſtricteſt truth is required in a witneſs; that he ſhould be wholly free from the malice againſt the perſon he accuſes; that he ſhould not aggravate the ſmalleſt circumſtance againſt the criminal, nor conceal the ſmalleſt in his favour; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only cauſe or motive of his undertaking an office, ſo ſubject to cenſure, and ſo difficult to perform, ſhould be the ſafety and ſervice of his prince and country.

Under theſe conditions and limitations (but not otherwiſe) there is no manner of doubt, but a good man may lawfully and juſtly become a witneſs in behalf of the public, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very deſirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is poſitive as well as negative; that is to ſay, as we are directed not to bear falſe witneſs againſt our neighbour, ſo we are to bear true. Next to the word of God, and the advice of teachers, every man's conſcience ſtrictly examined will be his beſt director *in this weighty point*; and to that I ſhall leave him.

with drunkenneſs ſerve to defend himſelf, or ſatisfy him whether he were guilty or no.

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I come now in the laſt place to ſhew you how far it is your duty as good ſubjects and good neighbours to bear faithful witneſs, when you are lawfully called to it by thoſe in authority, or by the ſincere advice of your own conſciences.

In what I have hitherto ſaid, you eaſily find, that I do not talk of bearing witneſs in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thouſand accounts in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many ſcandalous corruptions, almoſt peculiar to this country, which would require to be handled by themſelves. But I have confined my diſcourſe only to that branch of bearing falſe witneſs, whereby the public is injured in the ſafety or honour of the prince, or thoſe in authority under him.

In order therefore to be a faithful witneſs, it is firſt neceſſary that a man doth not undertake it from the leaſt proſpect of any private advantage to himſelf. The ſmalleſt mixture of that leaven will ſour the whole lump. Intereſt will infallibly bias his judgment, altho' he be ever ſo firmly reſolved to ſay nothing but truth. He cannot ſerve God and Mammon: but as intereſt is his chief end, he will uſe the moſt effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumſtances to make his teſtimony valuable; he will be ſorry if the perſon he accuſeth ſhould be able to clear himſelf; in ſhort, he is *labouring* a point which he thinks neceſſary to his own good;

good; and it would be a disappointment to him, that his neighbour should prove innocent.

5thly, Every good subject is obliged to bear witness against his neighbour, for any action or words, the telling of which would be of advantage to the public, and the concealment dangerous, or of ill example. Of this nature are all plots and conspiracies against the peace of a nation, all disgraceful words against a prince, such as clearly discover a disloyal and rebellious heart: But where our prince and country can possibly receive no damage or disgrace; where no scandal or ill example is given; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a rash or indiscreet word, which in strictness of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no further than warning and reproof.

In describing to you the several kinds of false witnesses, I have made it less necessary to dwell much longer upon this head; because a faithful witness like every thing else is known by his contrary: Therefore it would be only repetition of what I have already said to tell you, that the strictest truth is required in a witness; that he should be wholly free from the malice against the person he accuses; that he should not aggravate the smallest circumstance against the criminal, nor conceal the smallest in his favour; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only cause or motive of his undertaking an office, so subject to censure, and so difficult to perform, should be the safety and service of his prince and country.

Under these conditions and limitations (but not otherwise) there is no manner of doubt, but a good man may lawfully and justly become a witness in behalf of the public, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very desirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is positive as well as negative; that is to say, as we are directed not to bear false witness against our neighbour, so we are to bear true. Next to the word of God, and the advice of teachers, every man's conscience strictly examined will be his best director *in this weighty point*; and to that I shall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by way of advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and sin of bearing false witness; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a sort of people that seldom frequent these holy places, where they can hardly pick up any materials to serve their turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the words of the preacher: And whoever is that way disposed, I doubt, cannot be in a very good condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in his mercy preserve us from all the guilt of this grievous sin forbidden in my text, and from the snares of those who are guilty of it.

I shall conclude with one or two precepts given by *Moses* from God to the children of *Israel*, in the xxiii. of *Exod.* 1, 2.

Thou shalt not raise a false report: Put not thine hand with the wicked, to be an unrighteous witness.

Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many, to wrest judgment.

Now to God the Father, &c.

A SER-

A

SERMON

ON THE

Poor Man's Contentment.

PHILIP. Chap. iv. Part of the 11th Verſe.
I have learned, in whatſoever ſtate I am, therewith to be content.

THE holy ſcripture is full of expreſſions to ſet forth the miſerable condition of man during the whole progreſs of his life; his weakneſs, pride, and vanity, his unmeaſurable deſires, and perpetual diſappointments, the prevalency of his paſſions, and the corruptions of his reaſon, his deluding hopes, and his real, as well as imaginary fears; his natural and artificial wants; his cares and anxieties; the diſeaſes of his body, and the diſeaſes of his mind; the ſhortneſs of his life; his dread of a future ſtate, with his careleſſneſs to prepare for it: And the wiſe men of all ages have made the ſame reflections.

But all theſe are general calamities, from which none are excepted; and, being without remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great queſtion, long debated in the world, is, whether the rich or the poor are the leaſt miſerable of the two? It is certain, that no rich man ever deſired to be poor, and that moſt, if not all, poor men deſire to be rich; from whence it may be argued, that, in all appearance, the advantage lieth on the ſide of wealth, becauſe both parties agree in preferring it before poverty. But this reaſoning will be found to be falſe: For, I lay it down as a certain truth, that God Almighty hath placed all men upon an equal foot, with reſpect to their happineſs in this world, and the capacity of attaining their ſalvation in the next; or, at leaſt, if there be any difference, it is not the advantage of the

rich and the mighty. Now, since a great part of those, who usually make up our congregations, are not of considerable station, and many among them of the lower sort, and since the meaner people are generally, and justly, charged with the sin of repining and murmuring at their own condition, to which, however, their betters are sufficiently subject, (although, perhaps, for shame, not always so loud in their complaints) I thought it might be useful to reason upon this point in as plain a manner as I can. I shall therefore shew, first, that the poor enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and the great: And, likewise, that the rich and the great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

But here I would not be misunderstood; perhaps, there is not a word more abused than that of the poor, or wherein the world is more generally mistaken. Among the number of those who beg in our streets, or are half starved at home, or languish in prison for debt, there is hardly one in a hundred who doth not owe his misfortunes to his own laziness or drunkenness, or worse vices.

To these he owes those very diseases which often disable him from getting his bread. Such wretches are deservedly unhappy; they can only blame themselves; and when we are commanded to have pity on the poor, these are not understood to be of the number.

It is true, indeed, that sometimes honest, endeavouring men are reduced to extreme want, even to the begging of alms, by losses, by accidents, by diseases, and old age, without any fault of their own: But these are very few, in comparison of the other; nor would their support be any sensible burden to the public, if the charity of well disposed persons were not intercepted by those common strolers, who are most importunate, and who least deserve it. These, indeed, are properly and justly called the poor, whom it should be our study to find out and distinguish, by making them partake of our superfluity and abundance.

But neither have these any thing to do with my *present subject*: For, by the poor I only intend the *honest, industrious* artificer, the meaner sort of tradesmen, and

and the labouring man, who getteth his bread by the ſweat of his brows, in town or country, and who make the bulk of mankind among us.

Firſt, I ſhall therefore ſhew, firſt, that the poor (in the ſenſe I underſtand the word) do enjoy many temporal bleſſings, which are not common to the rich and great; and likewiſe, that the rich and great are ſubject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

Secondly, From the arguments offered to prove the foregoing head, I ſhall draw ſome obſervations that may be uſeful for your practice.

1. As to the firſt: Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the beſt of all earthly poſſeſſions, becauſe it is that, without which we can have no ſatisfaction in any of the reſt. For riches are of no uſe, if ſickneſs taketh from us the ability of enjoying them, and power and greatneſs are then only a burden Now, if we would look for health, it muſt be in the humble habitation of the labouring man, or induſtrious artificer, who earn their bread by the ſweat of their brows, and uſually live to a good old age with a great degree of ſtrength and vigour.

The refreſhment of the body by ſleep is another great happineſs of the meaner ſort. Their reſt is not diſturbed by the fear of thieves and robbers, nor is it interrupted by ſurfeits of intemperance. Labour and plain food ſupply the want of quieting draughts; and the wiſe man telleth us, that the ſleep of the labouring man is ſweet. As to children, which are certainly accounted of as a bleſſing, even to the poor, where induſtry is not wanting; they are an aſſiſtance to their honeſt parents, inſtead of being a burden; they are healthy and ſtrong, and fit for labour; neither is the father in fear, leſt his heir ſhould be ruined by an unequal match; nor is he ſollicitous about his riſing in the world, further than to be able to get his bread.

The poorer ſort are not the objects of general hatred or envy; they have no twinges of ambition, nor trouble themſelves with party-quarrels, or ſtate-diviſions. The idle rabble, *who follow* their ambitious leaders in ſuch *caſes, do not fall within* my deſcription of the poorer ſort;

ſort; for, it is plain, I mean only the honeſt induſtrious poor in town or country, who are ſafeſt in times of public diſturbance, in perilous ſeaſons, and public revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their own buſineſs: For artificers and husbandmen are neceſſary in all governments: But in ſuch ſeaſons, the rich are the public mark, becauſe they are oftentimes of no uſe, but to be plundered; like ſome ſort of birds, who are good for nothing, but their feathers; and ſo fall a prey to the ſtrongeſt ſide.

Let us proceed on the other ſide to examine the diſadvantages that the rich and the great lie under, with reſpect to the happineſs of the preſent life.

Firſt then; While health, as we have ſaid, is the general portion of the lower ſort, the gout, the dropſy, the ſtone, the cholic, and all other diſeaſes are continually haunting the palaces of the rich and the great, as the natural attendants upon lazineſs and luxury. Neither does the rich man eat his ſumptuous fare with half the appetite and reliſh, that even the beggars do the crumbs which fall from his table: But, on the contrary, he is full of loathing and diſguſt, or at beſt of indifference, in the midſt of plenty. Thus their intemperance ſhortens their lives, without pleaſing their appetites.

Buſineſs, fear, guilt, deſign, anguiſh, and vexation are continually buzzing about the curtains of the rich and the powerful, and will hardly ſuffer them to cloſe their eyes, unleſs when they are dozed with the fumes of ſtrong liquors.

It is a great miſtake to imagine, that the rich want but few things; their wants are more numerous, more craving, and urgent, than thoſe of poorer men: For theſe endeavour only at the neceſſaries of life, which make them happy, and they think no farther: But the deſire of power and wealth is endleſs, and therefore impoſſible to be ſatisfied with any acquiſitions.

If riches were ſo great a bleſſing as they are commonly thought, they would at leaſt have this advantage, to give their owners chearful hearts and countenances; *they would often* ſtir them up to expreſs their thankfulneſs to God, and diſcover their ſatisfaction to the world.

world. But, in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or more ingratitude to their great Benefactor, than among thoſe who abound in wealth? And, indeed, it is natural that it ſhould be ſo, becauſe thoſe men, who covet things that are hard to be got, muſt be hard to pleaſe; whereas a ſmall thing maketh a poor man happy; and great loſſes cannot befal him.

It is likewiſe worth conſidering, how few among the rich have procured their wealth by juſt meaſures; how many owe their fortunes to the ſins of their parents, how many more to their own? If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conſcience, where falſe ſwearing, and a thouſand vile artifices, (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human courts of juſtice) would avail nothing; how many would be ejected with infamy and diſgrace? How many grow conſiderable by breach of truſt, by bribery and corruption? How many have ſold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themſelves and others, for power and employments?

And, it is a miſtake to think, that the moſt hardened ſinner, who oweth his poſſeſſions or titles to any ſuch wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conſcience, and amidſt the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor, except the power of doing good to others: But this is an advantage which God hath not given wicked men the grace to make uſe of. The wealth acquired by evil means was never employed to good ends; for that would be to divide the kingdom of *Satan* againſt itſelf. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppreſſion, and the like, muſt be preſerved and increaſed by the ſame methods.

I ſhall add but one thing more upon this Head, which I hope will convince you, that God (whoſe thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be neceſſary for the happineſs of mankind in this life; becauſe it is certain, that there is not one ſingle good quality of the mind abſolutely neceſſary to obtain them, where *men are reſolved* to be rich at any rate; neither

honour,

honour, justice, temperance, wisdom, religion, truth, or learning; for a slight acquaintance with the world will inform us, that there have been many instances of men in all ages, who have arrived at great possessions and great dignities, by cunning, fraud, or flattery, without any of these, or any other virtues that can be named. Now, if riches and greatness were such blessings, that good men without them could have their share of happiness in this life; how cometh it to pass, that God should suffer them to be often dealt to the worst, and most profligate of mankind? that they should be generally procured by the most abominable means, and applied to the basest and most wicked uses? This ought not to be conceived of a just, a merciful, a wise, and Almighty Being. We must therefore conclude, that wealth and power are in their own nature, at best, but things indifferent, and that a good man may be equally happy without them, provided that he hath a sufficiency of the common blessings of human life to answer all the reasonable and virtuous demands of nature, which his industry will provide, and sobriety will prevent his wanting. *Agur's* prayer, with the reasons of his wish, are full to this purpose: "Give me neither poverty nor "riches. Feed me with food convenient for me; lest "I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? "Or, lest I be poor, and steal, and take the Name of "my God in vain."

From what hath been said, I shall, in the second place, offer some considerations, that may be useful for your practice.

And here I shall apply myself chiefly to those of the lower sort, for whose comfort and satisfaction this discourse is principally intended. For, having observed the great sin of those, who do not abound in wealth, to be that of murmuring and repining, that God hath dealt his blessings unequally to the sons of men, I thought it would be of great use to remove out of your minds so false and wicked an opinion, by shewing that your condition is really happier than most of you imagine.

First, therefore, it hath been always agreed in the *world*, that the present happiness of mankind consisted

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in the eaſe of our body and the quiet of our mind; but, from what hath been already ſaid, it plainly appears, that neither wealth nor power do in any ſort contribute to either of theſe two bleſſings. If, on the contrary, by multiplying our deſires, they increaſe our diſcontents; if they deſtroy our health, gall us with painful diſeaſes, and ſhorten our life; if they expoſe us to hatred, to envy, to cenſure, to a thouſand temptations, it is not eaſy to ſee why a wiſe man ſhould make them his choice, for their own ſake, although it were in his power. Would any of you, who are in health and ſtrength of body, with moderate food and raiment earned by your own labour, rather chuſe to be in the rich man's bed, under the torture of the gout, unable to take your natural reſt, or natural nouriſhment, with the additional load of a guilty conſcience, reproaching you for injuſtice, oppreſſions, covetouſneſs, and fraud? No; but you would take the riches and power, and leave behind the inconveniencies that attend them; and ſo would every man living. But that is more than our ſhare, and God never intended this world for ſuch a place of reſt as we would make it; for the Scripture aſſureth us, that it was only deſigned as a place of trial. Nothing is more frequent, than a man to wiſh himſelf in another's condition; yet he ſeldom doth it without ſome reſerve: He would not be ſo old; he would not be ſo ſickly; he would not be ſo cruel; he would not be ſo inſolent; he would not be ſo vicious; he would not be ſo oppreſſive; ſo griping; and ſo on. From whence it is plain, that, in their own judgment, men are not ſo unequally dealt with, as they would at firſt ſight imagine: For, if I would not change my condition with another man, without any exception or reſervation at all, I am in reality more happy than he.

Secondly, You of the meaner ſort are ſubject to fewer temptations than the rich; and therefore your vices are more unpardonable. Labour ſubdueth your appetites to be ſatisfied with common things; the buſineſs of your ſeveral callings filleth up your whole time; ſo that idleneſs, which is the bane and deſtruction of virtue, doth not lead you into the neighbourhood of

ſin:

ſin: Your paſſions are cooler, by not being inflamed with exceſs, and therefore the gate and the way that lead to life are not ſo ſtrait or ſo narrow to you, as to thoſe who live among all the allurements to wickedneſs. To ſerve God with the beſt of your care and underſtanding, and to be juſt and true in your dealings, is the ſhort ſum of your duty, and will be the more ſtrictly required of you, becauſe nothing lieth in the way to divert you from it.

Thirdly, It is plain from what I have ſaid, that you of the lower rank have no juſt reaſon to complain of your condition; becauſe, as you plainly ſee, it affordeth you ſo many advantages, and freeth you from ſo many vexations, ſo many diſtempers both of body and mind, which purſue and torment the rich and powerful.

Fourthly, You are to remember and apply, that the pooreſt perſon is not excuſed from doing good to others, and even relieving the wants of his diſtreſſed neighbour, according to his abilities; and if you perform your duty in this point, you far outdo the greateſt liberalities of the rich, and will accordingly be accepted of by God, and get your reward: For, it is our Saviour's own doctrine, when the widow gave her two mites. The rich give out of their abundance; that is to ſay, what they give, they do not feel it in their way of living: But the poor man, who giveth out of his little ſtock, muſt ſpare it from the neceſſary food and raiment of himſelf and his family. And, therefore our Saviour adds, "That the widow gave "more than all who went before her; for ſhe gave all "ſhe had, even all her living;" and ſo went home utterly unprovided to ſupply her neceſſities.

Laſtly, As it appeareth from what hath been ſaid, that you of the lower rank have, in reality, a greater ſhare of happineſs, your work of ſalvation is eaſier, by your being liable to fewer temptations; and as your reward in heaven is much more certain, than it is to the rich, if you ſeriouſly perform your duty, for yours is the kingdom of heaven; ſo your neglect of it will be leſs excuſeable, will meet with fewer allowances from God, and will be puniſhed with double ſtripes.

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For, the moſt unknowing among you cannot plead ignorance in what you have been ſo early taught, I hope, ſo often inſtructed in, and which is ſo eaſy to be underſtood, I mean the art of leading a life agreeable to the plain and poſitive laws of God. Perhaps you may think you ly under one diſadvantage, which the great and rich have not; that idleneſs will certainly reduce you to beggary; whereas thoſe who abound in wealth ly under no neceſſity either of labour or temperance to keep enough to live on. But this is indeed one part of your happineſs, that the lowneſs of your condition, in a manner, forceth you to what is pleaſing to God, and neceſſary for your daily ſupport. Thus your duty and intereſt are always the ſame.

To conclude; ſince our bleſſed Lord, who, inſtead of a rich and honourable ſtation in this world, was pleaſed to chuſe his lot among men of the lower condition; let not thoſe, on whom the bounty of providence hath beſtowed wealth and honours, deſpiſe the men who are placed in an humble and inferior ſtation; but rather, with their utmoſt power, by their countenance, by their protection, by juſt payment for their honeſt labour, encourage their daily endeavours for the virtuous ſupport of themſelves and their families. On the other hand, let the poor labour to provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men, and ſo, with diligence in their ſeveral employments, live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world, that they may obtain that glorious reward promiſed in the goſpel to the poor, I mean the kingdom of heaven.

Now to God the Father, &c.

A

SERMON

ON THE

CAUSES

OF THE

Wretched Condition of *Ireland.*

PSALM CXLIV. Part of the 13th and 14th Ver.

That there be no Complaining in our Streets. Happy is the People that is in ſuch a Caſe.

IT is a very melancholy reflection, that ſuch a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things neceſſary, and moſt things convenient for life, ſufficient for the ſupport of four times the number of its inhabitants, ſhould yet ly under the heavieſt load of miſery and want, our ſtreets crowded with beggars, ſo many of our lower ſort of tradeſmen, labourers, and artificers not able to find cloaths and food for their families.

I think it may therefore be of ſome uſe to lay before you the chief cauſes of this wretched condition we are in, and then it will be eaſier to aſſign what remedies are in our power towards removing, at leaſt, ſome part of theſe evils.

For it is ever to be lamented, that we ly under many diſadvantages, not by our own faults, which are peculiar to ourſelves, and which no other nation under heaven hath any reaſon to complain of.

I ſhall,

I ſhall, therefore, firſt mention ſome cauſes of our miſeries, which I doubt are not to be remedied, until God ſhall put it in the hearts of thoſe who are the ſtronger, to allow us the common rights and privileges of brethren, fellow-ſubjects, and even of mankind.

The firſt cauſe of our miſery is the intolerable hardſhips we ly under in every branch of our trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to our rigorous neighbours.

The ſecond cauſe of our miſerable ſtate is the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of thoſe vaſt numbers, who think themſelves too good to live in the country which gave them birth, and ſtill gives them bread; and rather chooſe to paſs their days, and conſume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their mother-kingdom, among thoſe who heartily deſpiſe them.

Theſe I have but lightly touched on, becauſe I fear they are not to be redreſſed, and, beſides, I am very ſenſible how ready ſome people are to take offence at the honeſt truth; and, for that reaſon, I ſhall omit ſeveral other grievances, under which we are long likely to groan.

I ſhall therefore go on to relate ſome other cauſes of this nation's poverty, by which, if they continue much longer, it muſt infallibly ſink to utter ruin.

The firſt is, that monſtrous pride and vanity in both ſexes, eſpecially the weaker ſex, who, in the midſt of poverty, are ſuffered to run into all kind of expence and extravagance in dreſs, and particularly priding themſelves to wear nothing but what cometh from abroad, diſdaining the growth or manufacture of their own country, in thoſe articles where they can be better ſerved at home with half the expence; and this is grown to ſuch a height, that they will carry the whole yearly rent of a good eſtate at once on their body. And, as there is in that ſex a ſpirit of envy, by which they cannot endure to ſee others in a better habit than themſelves, ſo thoſe, whoſe fortunes can hardly ſupport their families in the neceſſaries of life, will needs vye with the richeſt and greateſt amongſt us, to the ruin of themſelves and their poſterity.

Neither are the men leſs guilty of this pernicious folly, who, in imitation of a gaudineſs and foppery of dreſs, introduced of late years into our neighbouring kingdom, (as fools are apt to imitate only the defects of their betters) cannot find materials in their own country worthy to adorn their bodies of clay, while their minds are naked of every valuable quality.

Thus our tradeſmen and ſhopkeepers, who deal in home-goods, are left in a ſtarving condition, and only thoſe encouraged who ruin the kingdom by importing amongſt us foreign vanities.

Another cauſe of our low condition, is our great luxury, the chief ſupport of which is the materials of it brought to the nation in exchange for the few valuable things left us, whereby ſo many thouſand families want the very neceſſaries of life.

Thirdly, In moſt parts of this kingdom the natives are from their infancy ſo given up to idleneſs and ſloth, that they often chuſe to beg or ſteal, rather than ſupport themſelves with their own labour; they marry without the leaſt view or thought of being able to make any proviſion for their families; and whereas, in all induſtrious nations, children are looked on as a help to their parents, with us, for want of being early trained to work, they are an intolerable burden at home, and a grievous charge upon the public, as appeareth from the vaſt number of ragged and naked children in town and country, led about by ſtroling women, trained up in ignorance and all manner of vice.

Laſtly, A great cauſe of this nation's miſery, is that *Egyptian* bondage of cruel, oppreſſing, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live under them ſhould make bricks without ſtraw, who grieve and envy when they ſee a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the ſpirits of the people are broken, and made for ſlavery; the farmers and cottagers, almoſt through the whole kingdom, being, to all intents and purpoſes, as real beggars as any of thoſe to whom we give our charity in the ſtreets. And theſe cruel landlords are every day unpeopling their kingdom, by forbidding their miſerable tenants to till the earth, againſt common

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reaſon and juſtice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations, by which numberleſs families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or ſtrole about, and increaſe the number of our thieves and beggars.

Such, and much worſe, is our condition at preſent, if I had leiſure or liberty to lay it before you; and, therefore, the next thing which might be conſidered is, Whether there may be any probable remedy found, at the leaſt againſt ſome part of theſe evils; for moſt of them are wholly deſperate.

But this being too large a ſubject to be now handled, and the intent of my diſcourſe confining me to give ſome directions concerning the poor of this city, I ſhall keep myſelf within thoſe limits. It is indeed in the power of the law-givers to found a ſchool in every pariſh of the kingdom, for teaching the meaner and poorer ſort of children to ſpeak and read the *Engliſh* tongue, and to provide a reaſonable maintenance for the teachers. This would, in time, aboliſh that part of barbarity and ignorance, for which our natives are ſo deſpiſed by all foreigners; this would bring them to think and act according to the rules of reaſon, by which a ſpirit of induſtry and thrift, and honeſty would be introduced among them. And, indeed, conſidering how ſmall a tax would ſuffice for ſuch a work, it is a public ſcandal that ſuch a thing ſhould never have been endeavoured, or, perhaps, ſo much as thought on.

To ſupply the want of ſuch a law, ſeveral pious perſons, in many parts of this kingdom, have been prevailed on, by the great endeavours and good example ſet them by the clergy, to erect charity-ſchools in ſeveral pariſhes, to which very often the richeſt pariſhioners contribute the leaſt. In theſe ſchools, children are, or ought to be, trained up to read and write, and caſt accompts; and theſe children ſhould, if poſſible, be of honeſt parents gone to decay through age, ſickneſs, or other unavoidable calamity, by the hand of God; not the brood of wicked ſtrolers; for it is by no means reaſonable, that the charity of well-inclined people ſhould be applied to encourage the lewdneſs of thoſe

profligate, abandoned women, who crowd our ſtreets with their borrowed or ſpurious iſſue.

In thoſe hoſpitals which have good foundations and rents to ſupport them, whereof, to the ſcandal of chriſtianity, there are very few in this kingdom; I ſay, in ſuch hoſpitals, the children maintained ought to be only of decayed citizens, and freemen, and be bred up to good trades. But in theſe ſmall pariſh charity-ſchools which have no ſupport, but the caſual good-will of charitable people, I do altogether diſapprove the cuſtom of putting the children apprentices, except to the very meaneſt trades; otherwiſe the poor honeſt citizen who is juſt able to bring up his child, and pay a ſmall ſum of money with him to a good maſter, is wholly defeated, and the baſtard iſſue, perhaps, of ſome beggar, preferred before him. And hence we come to be ſo overſtocked with apprentices and journeymen, more than our diſcouraged country can employ; and, I fear, the greateſt part of our thieves, pickpockets, and other vagabonds are of this number.

Therefore, in order to make theſe pariſh charity-ſchools of great and univerſal uſe, I agree with the opinion of many wiſe perſons, that a new turn ſhould be given to this whole matter.

I think there is no complaint more juſt than what we find in almoſt every family, of the folly and ignorance, the fraud and knavery, the idleneſs and viciouſneſs, the waſteful ſquandering temper of ſervants, who are, indeed, become one of the many public grievances of the kingdom; whereof, I believe, there are few maſters that now hear me who are not convinced by their own experience. And I am very confident, that more families, of all degrees, have been ruined by the corruptions of ſervants, than by all other cauſes put together. Neither is this to be wondered at, when we conſider from what nurſeries ſo many of them are received into our houſes. The firſt is the tribe of wicked boys, wherewith moſt corners of this town are peſtered, who haunt public doors. Theſe, having been born of beggars, and bred to pilfer as ſoon as they can go or ſpeak, as years come on, are employed in the loweſt offices to *get themſelves* bread, are practiſed in all manner of villany,

villany, and when they are grown up, if they are not entertained in a gang of thieves, are forced to ſeek for a ſervice. The other nurſery is the barbarous and deſart part of the country, from whence ſuch lads come up hither to ſeek their fortunes, who are bred up from the dunghill in idleneſs, ignorance, lying, and thieving. From theſe two nurſeries, I ſay, a great number of our ſervants come to us, ſufficient to corrupt all the reſt. Thus, the whole race of ſervants in this kingdom have gotten ſo ill a reputation, that ſome perſons from *England*, come over hither into great ſtations, are ſaid to have abſolutely refuſed admitting any ſervant born among us into their families. Neither can they be juſtly blamed; for although it is not impoſſible to find an honeſt native fit for a good ſervice, yet the inquiry is too troubleſome, and the hazard too great for a ſtranger to attempt.

If we conſider the many misfortunes that befal private families, it will be found that ſervants are the cauſes and inſtruments of them all: Are our goods embezzled, waſted, and deſtroyed? Is our houſe burnt down to the ground? It is by the ſloth, the drunkenneſs, or the villany of ſervants. Are we robbed and murdered in our beds? It is by confederacy with our ſervants. Are we engaged in quarrels and miſunderſtandings with our neighbours? Theſe were all begun and inflamed by the falſe, malicious tongues of our ſervants. Are the ſecrets of our family betrayed, and evil repute ſpread of us? Our ſervants were the authors. Do falſe accuſers riſe up againſt us? (an evil too frequent in this country) they have been tampering with our ſervants. Do our children diſcover folly, malice, pride, cruelty, revenge, undutifulneſs in their words and actions? Are they ſeduced to lewdneſs or ſcandalous marriages? It is all by our ſervants. Nay, the very miſtakes, follies, blunders, and abſurdities of thoſe in our ſervice, are able to ruffle and diſcompoſe the mildeſt nature, and are often of ſuch conſequence, as to put whole families into confuſion.

Since therefore not only our domeſtic peace and quiet, and the welfare of our children, but even the very ſafety of *our lives, reputations*, and fortunes have ſo great

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a dependence upon the choice of our ſervants, I think it would well become the wiſdom of the nation to make ſome proviſion in ſo important an affair. But in the mean time, and, perhaps, to better purpoſe, it were to be wiſhed, that the children of both ſexes, entertained in the pariſh charity-ſchools, were bred up in ſuch a manner as would give them a teachable diſpoſition, and qualify them to learn whatever is required in any ſort of ſervice. For inſtance, they ſhould be taught to read and write, to know ſomewhat in caſting accompts, to underſtand the principles of religion, to practiſe cleanlineſs, to get a ſpirit of honeſty, induſtry, and thrift, and be ſeverely puniſhed for every neglect in any of theſe particulars. For, it is the misfortune of mankind, that if they are not uſed to be taught in their early childhood, whereby to acquire what I call a teachable diſpoſition, they cannot, without great difficulty, learn the eaſieſt thing in the courſe of their lives, but are always aukward and unhandy; their minds, as well as bodies, for want of early practice, growing ſtiff and unmanageable, as we obſerve in the ſort of gentlemen, who, kept from ſchool by the indulgence of their parents but a few years, are never able to recover the time they have loſt, and grow up in ignorance and all manner of vice, whereof we have too many examples all over the nation. But to return to what I was ſaying: If theſe charity-children were trained up in the manner I mentioned, and then bound apprentices in the families of gentlemen and citizens, (for which a late law giveth great encouragement) being accuſtomed from their firſt entrance to be always learning ſome uſeful thing, would learn, in a month, more than another, without thoſe advantages, can do in a year; and, in the mean time, be very uſeful in a family, as far as their age and ſtrength would allow. And when ſuch children come to years of diſcretion, they will probably be a uſeful example to their fellow-ſervants, at leaſt they will prove a ſtrong check upon the reſt; for, I ſuppoſe, every body will allow, that one good, honeſt, diligent ſervant in a houſe may prevent abundance of miſchief in *the family*.

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Theſe are the reaſons for which I urge this matter ſo ſtrongly, and I hope thoſe who liſten to me will conſider them.

I ſhall now ſay ſomething about the great number of poor, who, under the name of common beggars, infeſt our ſtreets, and fill our ears with their continual cries, and craving importunity. This I ſhall venture to call an unneceſſary evil, brought upon us for the groſs neglect, and want of proper management in thoſe whoſe duty it is to prevent it. But, before I proceed farther, let me humbly preſume to vindicate the juſtice and mercy of God and his dealings with mankind. Upon this particular he hath not dealt ſo hardly with his creatures as ſome would imagine, when they ſee ſo many miſerable objects ready to periſh for want: For it would infallibly be found, upon ſtrict inquiry, that there is hardly one in twenty of thoſe miſerable objects, who do not owe their preſent poverty to their own faults, to their preſent ſloth and negligence, to their indiſcreet marriage without the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family, to their fooliſh expenſiveneſs, to their drunkenneſs, and other vices, by which they have ſquandered their gettings, and contracted diſeaſes in their old age. And, to ſpeak freely, is it any way reaſonable or juſt, that thoſe who have denied themſelves many lawful ſatisfactions and conveniencies of life, from a principle of conſcience, as well as prudence, that they might not be a burden to the public, ſhould be charged with ſupporting others, who have brought themſelves to leſs than a morſel of bread by their idleneſs, extravagance, and vice? Yet ſuch, and no other, are far the greateſt number not only in thoſe who beg in our ſtreets, but even of what we call poor decayed houſekeepers, whom we are apt to pity as real objects of charity, and diſtinguiſh them from common beggars, although, in truth, they both owe their undoing to the ſame cauſes; only the former is either too nicely bred to endure walking half naked in the ſtreets, or too proud to own their wants. For the artificer or other tradeſman, who pleadeth he is grown too old to work or look after buſineſs, and therefore expecteth aſſiſtance as a decayed houſekeeper; may *we not aſk him*, why he did not take care,

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in his youth and ſtrength of days, to make ſome proviſion againſt old age, when he ſaw ſo many examples before him of people undone by their idleneſs and vicious extravagance? and to go a little higher; whence cometh it that ſo many citizens and ſhopkeepers, of the moſt creditable trade, who once made a good figure, go to decay by their expenſive pride and vanity, affecting to educate and dreſs their children above their abilities, or the ſtate of life they ought to expect?

However, ſince the beſt of us have too many infirmities to anſwer for, we ought not to be ſevere upon thoſe of others; and therefore, if our brother, through grief, or ſickneſs, or other incapacity, is not in a condition to preſerve his being, we ought to ſupport him to the beſt of our power, without reflecting over-ſeriouſly on the cauſes that brought him to his miſery. But in order to this, and to turn our charity into its proper channel, we ought to conſider who and where thoſe objects are, whom it is chiefly incumbent upon us to ſupport.

By the ancient law of this realm, ſtill in force, every pariſh is obliged to maintain its own poor; which although ſome may think to be not very equal, becauſe many pariſhes are very rich, and have few poor among them, and others the contrary, yet, I think, may be juſtly defended: For as to remote country-pariſhes in the deſart part of the kingdom, the neceſſaries of life are there ſo cheap, that the infirm poor may be provided for with little burden to the inhabitants. But in what I am going to ſay, I ſhall confine myſelf only to this city, where we are over-run not only with our own poor, but with a far greater number from every part of the nation. Now, I ſay, this evil of being incumbered with ſo many foreign beggars, who have not the leaſt title to our charity, and whom it is impoſſible for us to ſupport, may be eaſily remedied, if the government of this city, in conjunction with the clergy and pariſh-officers, would think it worth their care; and I am ſure few things deſerve it better. For, if every pariſh would take a liſt of thoſe begging poor which *properly* belong to it, and compel each of them to *wear a badge*, marked and numbered, ſo as to be ſeen

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and known by all they meet, and confine them to beg within the limits of their own pariſh, ſeverely puniſhing them when they offend, and driving out all interlopers from other pariſhes, we could then make a computation of their numbers; and the ſtrolers from the country being driven away, the remainder would not be too many for the charity of thoſe who paſs by to maintain; neither would any beggar, although confined to his own pariſh, be hindered from receiving the charity of the whole town; becauſe, in this caſe, thoſe well-diſpoſed perſons who walk the ſtreets will give their charity to ſuch whom they think proper objects, where-ever they meet them, provided they are found in their own pariſhes, and wearing their badges of diſtinction. And, as to thoſe pariſhes which border upon the ſkirts and ſuburbs of the town, where country ſtrolers are uſed to harbour themſelves, they muſt be forced to go back to their homes, when they find no body to relieve them, becauſe they want that mark which only gives them licence to beg. Upon this point, it were to be wiſhed, that inferior pariſh-officers had better encouragement given them to perform their duty in driving away all beggars who do not belong to the pariſh, inſtead of conniving at them, as it is ſaid they do, for ſome ſmall contribution; for the whole city would ſave much more by ridding themſelves of many hundred beggars, than they would loſe by giving pariſh-officers a reaſonable ſupport.

It ſhould ſeem a ſtrange, unaccountable thing, that thoſe who have probably been reduced to want by riot, lewdneſs, and idleneſs, although they have aſſurance enough to beg alms publicly from all they meet, ſhould yet be too proud to wear the pariſh-badge, which would turn ſo much to their own advantage, by ridding them of ſuch great numbers, who now intercept the greateſt part of what belongeth to them: Yet it is certain, that there are very many, who publicly declare they will never wear thoſe badges, and many others who either hide or throw them away: But the remedy for this is very ſhort, eaſy, and juſt, by trying them like vagabonds and

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ſturdy beggars, and forcibly driving them out of the town.

Therefore, as ſoon as this expedient of wearing badges ſhall be put in practice, I do earneſtly exhort all thoſe who hear me, never to give their alms to any public beggar who doth not fully comply with this order, by which our number of poor will be ſo reduced, that it will be much eaſier to provide for the reſt. Our ſhop-doors will be no longer crowded with ſo many thieves and pickpockets, in beggars habits, nor our ſtreets ſo dangerous to thoſe who are forced to walk in the night.

Thus I have, with great freedom, delivered my thoughts upon this ſubject, which ſo nearly concerneth us. It is certainly a bad ſcheme, to any chriſtian country which God hath bleſſed with fruitfulneſs, and where the people enjoy the juſt rights and privileges of mankind, that there ſhould be any beggars at all. But, alas! among us, where the whole nation itſelf is almoſt reduced to beggary by the diſadvantages we ly under, and the hardſhips we are forced to bear; the lazineſs, ignorance, thoughtleſſneſs, ſquandering temper, ſlaviſh nature, and uncleanly manner of living in the poor popiſh natives, together with the cruel oppreſſions of their landlords, who delight to ſee their vaſſals in the duſt; I ſay, that in ſuch a nation, how can we otherwiſe expect than to be over-run with objects of miſery and want? Therefore, there can be no other method to free this city from ſo intolerable a grievance, than by endeavouring, as far as in us lies, that the burden may be more equally divided, by contributing to maintain our own poor, and forcing the ſtrolers and vagabonds to return to their ſeveral homes in the country, there to ſmite the conſciences of thoſe oppreſſors, who firſt ſtripped them of all their ſubſtance.

I might here, if the time would permit, offer many arguments to perſuade to works of charity; but you hear them ſo often from the pulpit, that I am willing to hope you may not now want them. Beſides, my preſent deſign was only to ſhew where your alms would be beſt beſtowed, to the honour of God, your own eaſe and

and advantage, the ſervice of your country, and the benefit of the poor. I deſire you will all weigh and conſider what I have ſpoken, and, according to your ſeveral ſtations and abilities, endeavour to put it in practice; and God give you good ſucceſs, to whom with the Son and Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, *&c.*

The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

A

SERMON

UPON

SLEEPING in CHURCH.

ACTS, Chap. xx. Ver. 9.

And there ſat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, *being fallen into a deep ſleep; and while* Paul *was long preaching, he ſunk down with ſleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.*

I HAVE choſen theſe words with deſign, if poſſible, to diſturb ſome part in this audience of half an hour's ſleep, for the convenience and exerciſe whereof this place, at this ſeaſon of the day, is very much celebrated.

There is indeed one mortal diſadvantage to which all preaching is ſubject; that thoſe who, by the wickedneſs of their lives, ſtand in greateſt need, have uſually the ſmalleſt ſhare; for either they are abſent upon the account of idleneſs, or ſpleen, or hatred to religion, or in order to doſe away the intemperance of the week; or, if they do come, they are ſure to employ their minds rather any other way, than regarding or attending to the buſineſs of the place.

The accident which happened to this young man in the text, hath not been ſufficient to diſcourage his ſucceſſors: But, becauſe the preachers now in the world, however they may exceed St. *Paul* in the art of ſetting men to ſleep, do extremely fall ſhort of him in the working of miracles; therefore men are become ſo cautious as to chuſe more ſafe and convenient ſtations and poſtures for taking their repoſe, without hazard of their *perſons*; and, upon the whole matter, chuſe rather to

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truſt their deſtruction to a miracle, than their ſafety. However, this being not the only way by which the lukewarm chriſtians and ſcorners of the age diſcover their neglect and contempt of preaching, I ſhall enter expreſsly into conſideration of this matter, and order my diſcourſe in the following method:

Firſt, I ſhall produce ſeveral inſtances to ſhew the great neglect of preaching now among us.
Secondly, I ſhall reckon up ſome of the uſual quarrels men have againſt preaching.
Thirdly, I ſhall ſet forth the great evil of this neglect and contempt of preaching, and diſcover the real cauſes from whence it proceedeth.
Laſtly, I ſhall offer ſome remedies againſt this great and ſpreading evil.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain inſtances to ſhew the great neglect of preaching now among us:

Theſe may be reduced under two heads. Firſt, men's abſence from the ſervice of the church; and ſecondly, their miſbehaviour when they are here.

The firſt inſtance of men's neglect, is in their frequent abſence from the church.

There is no excuſe ſo trivial, that will not paſs upon ſome men's conſciences to excuſe their attendance at the public worſhip of God. Some are ſo unfortunate as to be always indiſpoſed on the Lord's day, and think nothing ſo unwholeſome as the air of a church. Others have their affairs ſo odly contrived, as to be always unluckily prevented by buſineſs. With ſome it is a great mark of wit, and deep underſtanding, to ſtay at home on *Sundays*. Others again diſcover ſtrange fits of lazineſs, that ſeize them, particularly on that day, and confine them to their beds. Others are abſent out of mere contempt of religion. And, laſtly, there are not a few who look upon it as a day of reſt, and therefore claim the privilege of their caſtle, to keep the ſabbath by eating, drinking, and ſleeping, after the toil and labour of the week. Now in all this the worſt circumſtance is, that theſe *perſons are* ſuch whoſe companies are moſt *required, and who ſtand* moſt in need of a phyſician.

Secondly, Men's great neglect and contempt of preaching, appear by their miſbehaviour when at church.

If the audience were to be ranked under ſeveral heads, according to their behaviour, when the word of God is delivered, how ſmall a number would appear of thoſe who receive it as they ought? How much of the ſeed then ſown would be found to fall by the way-ſide, upon ſtony ground or among thorns? and how little good ground would there be to take it? A preacher cannot look round from the pulpit, without obſerving, that ſome are in a pepetual whiſper, and, by their air and geſture, give occaſion to ſuſpect, that they are in thoſe very minutes defaming their neighbour. Others have their eyes and imagination conſtantly engaged in ſuch a circle of objects, perhaps to gratify the moſt unwarrantable deſires, that they never once attend to the buſineſs of the place; the ſound of the preacher's words doth not ſo much as once interrupt them. Some have their minds wandering among idle, worldly, or vicious thoughts. Some ly at catch to ridicule whatever they hear, and with much wit and humour provide a ſtock of laughter, by furniſhing themſelves from the pulpit. But, of all miſbehaviour, none is comparable to that of thoſe who come here to ſleep; opium is not ſo ſtupifying to many perſons as an afternoon-ſermon. Perpetual cuſtom hath ſo brought it about, that the words, of whatever preacher, become only a ſort of uniform ſound at a diſtance, than which nothing is more effectual to lull the ſenſes. For, that it is the very ſound of the ſermon which bindeth up their faculties, is manifeſt from hence, becauſe they all awake ſo very regularly as ſoon as it ceaſeth, and with much devotion receive the bleſſing, dozed and beſotted with indecencies I am aſhamed to repeat.

I proceed, *Secondly*, to reckon up ſome of the uſual quarrels men have againſt preaching, and to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs of them.

Such unwarrantable demeanor, as I have deſcribed, among chriſtians, in the houſe of God, in a ſolemn aſſembly, while their faith and duty are explained and delivered, have put thoſe who are guilty upon inventing

ing ſome excuſes to extenuate their fault: This they do by turning the blame either upon the particular preacher, or upon preaching in general. Firſt, they object againſt the particular preacher; his manner, his delivery, his voice, are diſagreeable; his ſtyle and expreſſion are flat and low; ſometimes improper and abſurd; the matter is heavy, trivial and inſipid; ſometimes deſpicable, and perfectly ridiculous; or elſe, on the other ſide, he runs up into unintelligible ſpeculation, empty notions, and abſtracted flights, all clad in words above uſual underſtandings.

Secondly, They object againſt preaching in general; it is a perfect road of talk; they know already whatever can be ſaid; they have heard the ſame an hundred times over. They quarrel that preachers do not relieve an old beaten ſubject with wit and invention; and that now the art is loſt of moving men's paſſions, ſo common among the ancient orators of *Greece* and *Rome*. Theſe and the like objections, are frequently in the mouths of men who deſpiſe the fooliſhneſs of preaching. But let us examine the reaſonableneſs of them.

The doctrine delivered by all preachers is the ſame; *So we preach, and ſo ye believe:* But the manner of delivering is ſuited to the ſkill and abilities of each, which differ in preachers juſt as in the reſt of mankind. However, in perſonal diſlikes of a particular preacher, are theſe men ſure they are always in the right? Do they conſider how mixed a thing is every audience, whoſe taſte and judgment differ, perhaps, every day, not only from each other, but themſelves? And how to calculate a diſcourſe, that ſhall exactly ſuit them all, is beyond the force and reach of human reaſon, knowledge or invention. Wit and eloquence are ſhining qualities, that God hath imparted, in great degrees, to very few, nor any more to be expected, in the generality of any rank among men, than riches and honour. But further: If preaching in general be all old and beaten, and that they are already ſo well acquainted with it, more ſhame and guilt to them who ſo little edify by it. But, theſe men whoſe ears are ſo delicate as not to endure a *plain diſcourſe* of religion, who expect a *conſtant ſupply of wit* and eloquence on a ſubject handled

ſo many thouſand times; what will they ſay when we turn the objection upon themſelves, who with all the lewd and profane liberty of diſcourſe they take, upon ſo many thouſand ſubjects, are ſo dull as to furniſh nothing but tedious repetitions, and little paultry, nauſeous common-places, ſo vulgar, ſo worn, or ſo obvious, as, upon any other occaſion, but that of advancing vice, would be hooted off the ſtage? Nor, laſtly, are preachers juſtly blamed for neglecting human oratory to move the paſſions, which is not the buſineſs of a chriſtian orator, whoſe office it is only to work upon faith and reaſon. All other eloquence hath been a perfect cheat, to ſtir up men's paſſions againſt truth and juſtice, for the ſervice of a faction, to put falſe colours upon things, and by an amuſement of agreeable words, make the worſe reaſon appear to be the better. This is certainly not to be allowed in chriſtian eloquence, and, therefore, St *Paul* took quite the other courſe; he *came not with excellency of words, or enticing ſpeech of men's wiſdom, but in plain evidence of the ſpirit and power.* And perhaps it was for that reaſon the young man *Eutychus*, uſed to the *Grecian* eloquence, grew tired and fell ſo faſt aſleep.

I go on, *Thirdly*, to ſet forth the great evil of this neglect and ſcorn of preaching, and to diſcover the real cauſes from whence it proceedeth.

I think it is obvious to believe, that this neglect of preaching hath very much occaſioned the great decay of religion among us. To this may be imputed no ſmall part of that contempt ſome men beſtow on the clergy; for, whoever talketh without being regarded, is ſure to be deſpiſed. To this we owe, in a great meaſure, the ſpreading of atheiſm and infidelity among us; for religion, like all other things, is ſooneſt put out of countenance by being ridiculed. The ſcorn of preaching might perhaps have been at firſt introduced by men of nice ears and refined taſte; but, it is now become a ſpreading evil, through all degrees, and both ſexes; for, ſince ſleeping, talking, and laughing are qualities ſufficient to furniſh out a critic, the meaneſt and moſt ignorant *have ſet up* a title, and ſucceeded in it as well as their *betters.* Thus are the laſt efforts of reforming mankind

rendered

rendered wholely uſeleſs: *How ſhall they hear*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *without a preacher?* But, if they have a preacher, and make it a point of wit or breeding not to hear him, what remedy is left? To this neglect of preaching, we may alſo entirely impute that groſs ignorance among us in the very principles of religion, which it is amazing to find in perſons who very much value their own knowledge and underſtanding in other things; yet, it is a viſible, inexcuſable ignorance, even in the meaneſt among us, conſidering the many advantages they have of learning their duty. And, it hath been the great encouragement to all manner of vice: For, in vain we preach down ſin to a people, *whoſe hearts are waxed groſs, whoſe ears are dull of hearing*, and *whoſe eyes are cloſed*. Therefore Chriſt himſelf, in his diſcourſes, frequently rouſeth up the attention of the multitude, and of his diſciples themſelves, with this expreſſion, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*. But, among all neglects of preaching, none is ſo fatal as that of ſleeping in the houſe of God; a ſcorner may liſten to truth and reaſon, and in time grow ſerious; an unbeliever may feel the pangs of a guilty conſcience; one whoſe thoughts or eyes wander among other objects, may, by a lucky word, be called back to attention: But the ſleeper ſhuts up all avenues to his ſoul: He is *like the deaf adder, that hearkeneth not to the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely*. And, we may preach with as good ſucceſs to the grave that is under his feet.

But the great evil of this neglect will further yet appear, from conſidering the real cauſes whence it proceedeth; whereof the firſt, I take to be, an evil conſcience. Many men come to church to ſave or gain a reputation; or becauſe they will not be ſingular, but comply with an eſtabliſhed cuſtom; yet, all the while, they are loaded with the guilt of old rooted ſins. Theſe men can expect to hear of nothing but terrors and threatenings, their ſins laid open in true colours, and eternal miſery the reward of them; therefore, no wonder they ſtop their ears, and divert their thoughts, and ſeek any amuſement, rather than ſtir the hell within them.

Another

Another cauſe of this neglect is, a heart ſet upon worldly things. Men whoſe minds are much enſlaved to earthly affairs all the week, cannot diſengage or break the chain of their thoughts ſo ſuddenly, as to apply to a diſcourſe that is wholly foreign to what they have moſt at heart. Tell a uſurer of charity, and mercy, and reſtitution, you talk to the deaf; his heart and ſoul, with all his ſenſes, are got among his bags, or he is gravely aſleep, and dreaming of a mortgage. Tell a man of buſineſs, that the cares of the world choak the good ſeed; that we muſt not encumber ourſelves with much ſerving; that the ſalvation of his ſoul is the one thing neceſſary: You ſee, indeed, the ſhape of a man before you, but his faculties are all gone off among clients and papers, thinking how to defend a bad cauſe, or find flaws in a good one; or, he weareth out the time in drouſy nods.

A third cauſe of the great neglect and ſcorn of preaching, ariſeth from the practice of men who ſet up to decry and diſparage religion; theſe, being zealous to promote infidelity and vice, learn a rote of buffoonry that ſerveth all occaſions, and refutes the ſtrongeſt arguments for piety and good manners. Theſe have a ſet of ridicule calculated for all ſermons, and all preachers, and can be extreme witty as often as they pleaſe upon the ſame fund.

Let me now, in the laſt place, offer ſome remedies againſt this great evil.

It will be one remedy againſt the contempt of preaching, rightly to conſider the end for which it was deſigned. There are many who place abundance of merit in going to church, although it be with no other proſpect but that of being well entertained, wherein if they happen to fail, they return wholly diſappointed. Hence it is become an impertinent vein among people of all ſorts to hunt after what they call a good ſermon, as if it were a matter of paſtime and diverſion. Our buſineſs, alas! is quite another thing, either to learn, or, at leaſt, be reminded of our duty, to apply the doctrines delivered, compare the rules we hear with our lives and actions, and find wherein we have tranſ*greſſed*. Theſe are the diſpoſitions men ſhould bring into

into the houſe of God, and then they will be little concerned about the preacher's wit or eloquence, nor be curious to inquire out his faults or infirmities, but conſider how to correct their own.

Another remedy againſt the contempt of preaching, is, that men would conſider, whether it be not reaſonable to give more allowances for the different abilities of preachers than they uſually do; refinements of ſtile, and flights of wit, as they are not properly the buſineſs of any preacher, ſo they cannot poſſibly be the talents of all. In moſt other diſcourſes, men are ſatisfied with ſober ſenſe and plain reaſon; and, as underſtandings uſually go, even that is not over-frequent. Then why they ſhould be ſo over-nice and expecting for ſenſe, where it is neither neceſſary nor convenient, is hard to imagine.

Laſtly, The ſcorners of preaching would do well to conſider, that this talent of ridicule, they value ſo much, is a perfection very eaſily acquired, and applied to all things whatſoever; neither is it any thing at all the worſe, becauſe it is capable of being perverted to burleſque: Perhaps it may be the more perfect upon that ſcore; ſince we know, the moſt celebrated pieces have been thus treated with greateſt ſucceſs. It is in any man's power to ſuppoſe a fool's cap on the wiſeſt head, and then laugh at his own ſuppoſition. I think there are not many things cheaper than ſuppoſing and laughing; and if the uniting theſe two talents can bring a thing into contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.

To conclude. Theſe conſiderations may, perhaps, have ſome effect while men are awake; but what arguments ſhall we uſe to the ſleeper? What methods ſhall we take to hold open his eyes? Will he be moved by conſiderations of common civility? We know it is reckoned a point of very bad manners to ſleep in private company, when, perhaps, the tedious impertinence of many talkers would render it atleaſt as excuſable as at the dulleſt ſermon. Do they think it a ſmall thing to watch four hours at a play, where all virtue and religion are *openly reviled; and can they* not watch one half hour to

hear

hear them defended? Is this to deal like a judge, (I mean like a good judge) to liſten on one ſide of the cauſe, and ſleep on the other? I ſhall add but one word more: That this indecent ſloth is very much owing to that luxury and exceſs men uſually practiſe upon this day, by which half the ſervice thereof is turned to ſin; men dividing the time between God and their bellies, when, after a gluttonous meal, their ſenſes dozed and ſtupified, they retire to God's houſe to ſleep out the afternoon. Surely, brethren, theſe things ought not ſo to be.

He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And God give us all grace to hear and receive his holy word to the ſalvation of our own ſouls.

REMARKS

REMARKS

UPON A

BOOK,

INTITULED

The Rights of the Chriſtian Church, &c.

Written in the Year 1708, but left unfiniſhed.

BEFORE I enter upon a particular examination of this treatiſe, it will be convenient to do two things:

Firſt, To give ſome account of the author, together with the motives, that might probably engage him in ſuch a work. And,

Secondly, To diſcover the nature and tendency in general, of the work itſelf.

The firſt of theſe, although it hath been objected againſt, ſeems highly reaſonable, eſpecially in books that inſtil pernicious principles. For, although a book is not intrinſically much better or worſe, according to the ſtature or complexion of the author, yet when it happens to make a noiſe, we are apt, and curious, as in other noiſes, to look about from whence it cometh. But, however, there is ſomething more in the matter.

If a theological ſubject be well handled by a layman, it is better received than if it came from a divine; and that for reaſons obvious enough, which, although of little weight in themſelves, will ever have a great deal with mankind.

But, when books are written with ill intentions, to advance dangerous opinions, or deſtroy foundations; it may be then of real uſe to know from what quarter they come, and go a good way towards their confutation. For inſtance, if any man ſhould write a book againſt the lawfulneſs of puniſhing felony with death; and upon inquiry, the author ſhould be found in *Newgate*

gate under condemnation for robbing a houſe; his arguments would not very unjuſtly loſe much of their force, from the circumſtances he lay under. So when *Milton* writ his book of divorces, it was preſently rejected as an occaſional treatiſe; becauſe every body knew, he had a ſhrew for his wife. Neither can there be any reaſon imagined, why he might not, after he was blind, have writ another upon the danger and inconvenience of eyes. But, it is a piece of logic which will hardly paſs on the world; that becauſe one man hath a ſore noſe, therefore all the town ſhould put plaiſters upon theirs. So, if this treatiſe about the rights of the church, ſhould prove to be the work of a man ſteady in his principles, of exact morals, and profound learning, a true lover of his country, and a hater of chriſtianity, as what he really believes to be a cheat upon mankind, whom he would undeceive purely for their good; it might be apt to check unwary men, even of good diſpoſitions towards religion. But, if it be found the production of a man ſoured with age and misfortunes, together with the conſciouſneſs of paſt miſcarriages; of one, who, in hopes of preferment, was reconciled to the *Popiſh* religion; of one wholly proſtitute in life and principles, and only an enemy to religion, becauſe it condemns them: In this caſe, and this laſt I find is the univerſal opinion, he is like to have few proſelytes, beſide thoſe, who, from a ſenſe of their vicious lives, require to be perpetually ſupplied by ſuch amuſements as this; which ſerve to flatter their wiſhes, and debaſe their underſtandings.

I know there are ſome who would fain have it, that this diſcourſe was written by a club of free-thinkers, among whom the ſuppoſed author only came in for a ſhare. But, ſure, we cannot judge ſo meanly of any party, without affronting the dignity of mankind. If this be ſo, and if here be the product of all their quotas and contributions, we muſt needs allow, that free-thinking is a moſt confined and limited talent. It is true indeed, the whole diſcourſe ſeemeth to be a motly, inconſiſtent compoſition, made up of various ſhreds *of equal fineneſs*, although of different colours. It is a bundle

bundle of incoherent maxims and aſſertions, that frequently deſtroy one another. But, ſtill there is the ſame flatneſs of thought and ſtyle; the ſame weak advances towards wit and raillery; the ſame petulancy and pertneſs of ſpirit; the ſame train of ſuperficial reading; the ſame thread of thread-bare quotations; the ſame affectation of forming general rules upon falſe and ſcanty premiſſes; and laſtly, the ſame rapid venom ſprinkled over the whole, which, like the dying impotent bite of a trodden benumbed ſnake, may be nauſeous and offenſive, but cannot be very dangerous.

And, indeed, I am ſo far from thinking this libel to be born of ſeveral fathers, that it hath been the wonder of ſeveral others as well as myſelf, how it was poſſible for any man who appeareth to have gone the common circle of academical education; who hath taken ſo univerſal a liberty, and hath ſo entirely laid aſide all regards, not only of chriſtianity, but common truth and juſtice; one who is dead to all ſenſe of ſhame, and ſeemeth to be paſt the getting or loſing a reputation, ſhould, with ſo many advantages, and upon ſo unlimited a ſubject, come out with ſo poor, ſo jejune a production. Should we pity or be amazed at ſo perverſe a talent, which, inſtead of qualifying an author to give a new turn to old matter, diſpoſeth him quite contrary to talk in an old beaten trivial manner upon topics wholly new. To make ſo many ſallies into pedantry, without a call, upon a ſubject the moſt alien, and in the very moments he is declaiming againſt it, and in an age too, where it is ſo violently exploded, eſpecially among thoſe readers he propoſeth to entertain.

I know it will be ſaid, that this is only to talk in the common ſtyle of an anſwerer; but I have not ſo little policy. If there were any hope of reputation or merit from ſuch victory, I ſhould be apt like others to cry up the courage and conduct of an enemy. Whereas to detect the weakneſs, the malice, the ſophiſtry, the falſehood, the ignorance of ſuch a writer, requireth little more than to rank his perfections in ſuch an order, and place them in ſuch a light, that the commoneſt reader may form a judgment of them.

It may ſtill be a wonder how ſo heavy a book, written upon a ſubject in appearance ſo little inſtructive or diverting, ſhould ſurvive to three editions, and conſequently find a better reception than is uſual with ſuch bulky ſpiritleſs volumes; and this, in an age that pretendeth ſo ſoon to be nauſeated with what is tedious and dull. To which I can only return, that as burning a book by the common hangman, is a known expedient to make it ſell; ſo, to write a book that deſerveth ſuch treatment, is another: And a third, perhaps as effectual as either, is to ply an inſipid, worthleſs tract with grave and learned anſwers, as Dr *Hicks*, Dr *Potter*, and Mr *Wotton* have done. Deſign and performances, however commendable, have glanced a reputation upon the piece, which oweth its life to the ſtrength of thoſe hands and weapons, that were raiſed to deſtroy it; like flinging a mountain upon a worm, which, inſtead of being bruiſed, by the advantage of its littleneſs, lodgeth under it unhurt.

But, neither is this all. For the ſubject, as unpromiſing as it ſeemeth at firſt view, is no leſs than that of *Lucretius*, to free men's minds from the bondage of religion; and this not by little hints and by piece-meal, after the manner of thoſe little atheiſtical tracts that ſteal into the world, but in a thorough wholeſale manner; by making religion, church, chriſtianity, with all their concomitants, a perfect contrivance of the civil power. It is an imputation often charged on theſe ſort of men, that, by their invectives againſt religion, they can poſſibly propoſe no other end than that of fortifying themſelves and others againſt the reproaches of a vicious life; it being neceſſary for men of libertine practices to embrace libertine principles, or elſe they cannot act in conſiſtence with any reaſon, or preſerve any peace of mind. Whether ſuch authors have this deſign (whereof I think they have never gone about to acquit themſelves) thus much is certain, that no other uſe is made of ſuch writings: Neither did I ever hear this author's book juſtified by any perſon, either Whig or Tory, except ſuch who are of that profligate character. And, I believe, whoever examineth it, will be of the ſame opinion; although indeed ſuch wretches are ſo numerous,

merous, that it ſeemeth rather ſurpriſing, why the book hath had no more editions, than why it ſhould have ſo many.

Having thus endeavoured to ſatisfy the curious with ſome account of this author's character, let us examine what might probably be the motives to engage him in ſuch a work. I ſhall ſay nothing of the principal, which is a ſum of money; becauſe that is not a mark to diſtinguiſh him from any other trader with the preſs. I will ſay nothing of revenge and malice, from reſentment of the indignities and contempt he hath undergone for his crime of apoſtacy. To this paſſion he has thought fit to ſacrifice order, propriety, diſcretion, and common ſenſe, as may be ſeen in every page of his book: But, I am deceived, if there were not a third motive as powerful as the other two; and that is, vanity. About the latter end of king *James*'s reign he had almoſt finiſhed a learned diſcourſe in defence of the church of *Rome*, and to juſtify his converſion: All which, upon the revolution, was quite out of ſeaſon. Having thus proſtituted his reputation, and at once ruined his hopes, he had no courſe left, but to ſhew his ſpite againſt religion in general; the falſe pretenſions to which, had proved ſo deſtructive to his credit and fortune: And, at the ſame time, loth to employ the ſpeculations of ſo many years to no purpoſe; by an eaſy turn, the ſame arguments he had made uſe of to advance popery, were full as properly levelled by him againſt Chriſtianity itſelf; like the image, which, while it was new and handſome, was worſhipped for a ſaint, and when it came to be old and broken, was ſtill good enough to make a tolerable devil. And, therefore every reader will obſerve, that the arguments for popery are much the ſtrongeſt of any in his book, as I ſhall further remark when I find them in my way.

There is one circumſtance in his title-page, which I take to be not amiſs, where he calleth his book, *Part the Firſt*. This is a project to fright away anſwerers, and make the poor advocates for religion believe, he ſtill keepeth further vengeance in *petto*. It muſt be allowed, he hath not wholly loſt time, while he was of the *Romiſh* communion. This very trick he learned from his

old father, the pope; whoſe cuſtom it is to lift up his hand, and threaten to fulminate, when he never meant to ſhoot his bolts; becauſe the princes of *Chriſtendom* had learned the ſecret to avoid or deſpiſe them. Dr *Hicks* knew this very well, and therefore in his Anſwer to this *Book of the Rights*, where a *ſecond Part* is threatened, like a raſh perſon he deſperately crieth, *Let it come.* But I, who have not too much flame to provoke angry wits of his ſtandard, muſt tell the author, that the doctor plays the wag, as if he were ſure it were all grimace. For my part, I declare, if he writeth a ſecond part, I will not write another anſwer; or, if I do, it ſhall be publiſhed before the other part cometh out.

There may have been another motive, although it be hardly credible, both for publiſhing this work, and threatening a *ſecond part:* It is not ſoon conceived how far the ſenſe of a man's vanity will tranſport him. This man muſt have ſomewhere heard, that dangerous enemies have been often bribed to ſilence with money or preferment: And, therefore, to ſhew how formidable he is, he hath publiſhed his firſt eſſay; and, in hopes of hire, to be quiet, hath frighted us with his deſign of another. What muſt the clergy do in theſe unhappy circumſtances? If they ſhould beſtow on this man bread enough to ſtop his mouth, it will but open thoſe of a hundred more, who are every whit as well qualified to rail as he. And truly, when I compare the former enemies to Chriſtianity, ſuch as *Socinus*, *Hobbes*, and *Spinoſa*, with ſuch of their ſucceſſors as *Toland*, *Aſgil*, *Coward*, *Gildon*, this author of the *Rights*, and ſome others; the church appeareth to me like the ſick old lion in the fable, who, after having his perſon outraged by the bull, the elephant, the horſe, and the bear, took nothing ſo much to heart, as to find himſelf at laſt inſulted by the ſpurn of an aſs.

I will now add a few words to give the reader ſome general notion of the nature and tendency of the work itſelf.

I think I may aſſert, without the leaſt partiality, that it is a treatiſe wholly devoid of wit or learning, under *the moſt* violent and weak endeavours and pretences to *both*. That it is repleniſhed throughout with bold, rude, improbable

improbable falſhoods, and groſs miſinterpretations; and ſupported by the moſt impudent ſophiſtry and falſe logic I have any where obſerved. To this he hath added a paultry, traditional cant of *prieſt-rid*, and *prieſt-craft*, without reaſon or pretext as he applieth it. And when he raileth at thoſe doctrines in popery (which no proteſtant was ever ſuppoſed to believe) he leads the reader, however, by the hand to make applications againſt the *Engliſh* clergy, and then he never faileth to triumph, as if he had made a very ſhrewd and notable ſtroke. And becauſe the court and kingdom ſeem diſpoſed to moderation with regard to diſſenters, more perhaps than is agreeable to the hot unreaſonable temper of ſome miſtaken men among us; therefore, under the ſhelter of that popular opinion, he ridiculeth all that is ſound in religion, even Chriſtianity itſelf, under the names of *Jacobite*, *Tackers*, *High-Church*, and other *terms of factious jargon*. All which, if it were to be firſt razed from his book (as juſt ſo much of nothing to the purpoſe) how little would remain to give the trouble of an anſwer! To which let me add, that the ſpirit or genius which animates the whole, is plainly perceived to be nothing elſe but the abortive malice of an old neglected man, who hath long lain under the extremes of obloquy, poverty, and contempt, that have ſoured his temper, and made him fearleſs. But, where is the merit of being bold, to a man that is ſecure of impunity to his perſon, and is paſt apprehenſion of any thing elſe. He that has neither reputation nor bread, hath very little to loſe, and has therefore as little to fear. And, as it is uſually ſaid, *Whoever values not his own life, is maſter of another man's*; ſo there is ſomething like it in reputation: He that is wholly loſt to all regards of truth or modeſty, may ſcatter ſo much calumny and ſcandal, that ſome part may perhaps be taken up before it fall to the ground; becauſe the ill talent of the world is ſuch, that thoſe who will be at pains enough to inform themſelves in a malicious ſtory, will take none at all to be undeceived, nay, will be apt with ſome reluctance to admit a favourable truth.

To expoſtulate, therefore, with this author for doing miſchief to religion, is to ſtrew his bed with roſes; he

will reply in triumph, that this was his deſign; and I am loth to mortify him, by aſſerting he hath done none at all. For I never yet ſaw ſo poor an atheiſtical ſcribble, which would not ſerve as a twig for ſinking libertines to catch at. It muſt be allowed in their behalf, that the faith of Chriſtians is not as a grain of muſtard-ſeed in compariſon of theirs, which can remove ſuch mountains of abſurdities, and ſubmit with ſo entire a reſignation to ſuch apoſtles. If theſe men had any ſhare of that reaſon they pretend to, they would retire into chriſtianity, merely to give it eaſe. And therefore men can never be confirmed in ſuch doctrines, until they are confirmed in their vices; which laſt, as we have already obſerved, is the principal deſign of this and all other writers againſt revealed religion.

I am now opening the book which I propoſe to examine. An employment, as it is entirely new to me, ſo it is that to which, of all others, I have naturally the greateſt antipathy. And, indeed, who can dwell upon a tedious piece of inſipid thinking, and falſe reaſoning, ſo long as I am likely to do, without ſharing the infection?

But, before I plunge into the depths of the book itſelf, I muſt be forced to wade through the ſhallows of a long preface.

This preface, large as we ſee it, is only made up of ſuch ſupernumerary arguments againſt an independent power in the church, as he could not, without nauſeous repetition, ſcatter into the body of his book: And, it is detached, like a forlorn hope, to blunt the enemy's ſword that intendeth to attack him. Now, I think, it will be eaſy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the ſenſe he chargeth it upon the clergy of *England*, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain; and, that their univerſal ſentiment in this matter is ſuch as few proteſtants did ever diſpute. But, if the author of the *Regale*, or two or three more obſcure writers, have carried any points further than ſcripture and reaſon will allow, (which is more than I know, or ſhall trouble myſelf to inquire,) the clergy of *England is no* more anſwerable for thoſe, than the laity is

for

for all the folly and impertinence of this treatiſe. And, therefore, that people may not be amuſed, or think this man is ſomewhat, that he hath advanced or defended any oppreſſed truths, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will ſet in as clear a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the eſtabliſhed clergy, and all reaſonable proteſtants in this matter.

Every body knoweth and allows, that in all government there is an abſolute, unlimited, legiſlative power, which is originally in the body of the people, although by cuſtom, conqueſt, uſurpation, or other accidents, ſometimes fallen into the hands of one or a few. This in *England* is placed in the three eſtates (otherwiſe called the two houſes of parliament) in conjunction with the king. And whatever they pleaſe to enact or to repeal in the ſettled forms, whether it be eccleſiaſtical or civil, immediately becometh law or nullity. Their decrees may be againſt equity, truth, reaſon and religion, but they are not againſt law; becauſe law is the will of the ſupreme legiſlature, and that is, themſelves. And there is no manner of doubt, but the ſame authority, whenever it pleaſeth, may aboliſh chriſtianity, and ſet up the *Jewiſh*, *Mahometan*, or *Heathen* religion. In ſhort, they may do any thing within the compaſs of human power. And, therefore, who will diſpute that the ſame law, which deprived the church not only of lands, miſapplied to ſuperſtitious uſes, but even the tithes and glebes, (the ancient and neceſſary ſupport of pariſh-prieſts) may take away all the reſt, whenever the law-givers pleaſe, and make the prieſthood as primitive, as this writer, or others of his ſtamp can deſire.

But, as the ſupreme power can certainly do ten thouſand things more than it ought, ſo there are ſeveral things which ſome people may think it can do, although it really cannot. For, it unfortunately happens, that edicts which cannot be executed, will not alter the nature of things. So, if a king and parliament ſhould pleaſe to enact, that a woman who hath been a month married, is *virgo intacta*, would that actually reſtore her to her primitive ſtate? If the ſupreme power ſhould reſolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or phyſic, few, I believe, would truſt their ſouls, fortunes,

fortunes, or bodies to his direction; becauſe that power is neither fit to judge or teach thoſe qualifications which are abſolutely neceſſary to the ſeveral profeſſions. Put the caſe, that walking on the ſlack rope were the only talent required by act of parliament for making a man a biſhop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might ſit in the houſe of Lords, put on his robes and his rotchet, go down to his palace, receive and ſpend his rents; but it requireth very little chriſtianity to believe this tumbler to be one whit more a biſhop than he was before, becauſe the law of God hath otherwiſe decreed; which law, although a nation may refuſe to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the miſtake of this ſuperficial man, who is not able to diſtinguiſh between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. *If the parliament can annul eccleſiaſtical laws, they muſt be able to make them, ſince no greater power is required for the one than the other.* See pref. p. 8. This conſequence he repeateth above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affecteth to form a few words into the ſhape and ſize of a maxim, then trieth it by his ear, and, according as he likes the ſound or cadence, pronounceth it true. Cannot I ſtand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make one myſelf. If I have ſtrength enough to knock a man on the head, doth it follow I can raiſe him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the *Greek* and *Roman* authors; can it therefore create new ones in their ſtead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and eccleſiaſtical laws, and oblige all men to obſerve them under pain of high treaſon. And ſo may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the laſt reſort, take a turnip, then tie a ſtring to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my ſervants, if they refuſe to call it ſo too.

For my own part, I muſt confeſs that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiſeth ſuch a duſt, is what I never imagined to be of any conſequence, never once *heard diſputed* among divines, nor remember to have

read,

read, otherwiſe than as a ſcheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And, I dare believe, there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of this matter. Yet to ſee a large ſwelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think leſs than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the preſs and the pulpit with nothing elſe?

I remember ſome years ago, a virtuoſo writ a ſmall tract about worms, proved them to be in more places than was generally obſerved, and made ſome diſcoveries by glaſſes. This having met with ſome reception, preſently the poor man's head was full of nothing but worms; all we eat and drink, all the whole conſiſtence of human bodies, and thoſe of every other animal, the very air we breathed; in ſhort, all nature throughout was nothing but worms: And, by that ſyſtem, he ſolved all difficulties, and from thence all cauſes in philoſophy Thus it hath fared with our author, and his independent power. The rack againſt occaſional conformity, the ſcarcity of coffee, the invaſion of *Scotland*, the loſs of kerſeys and narrow cloths, the death of king *William*, the author's turning papiſt for preferment, the loſs of the battle of *Almanza*, with ten thouſand other misfortunes, are all owing to this *imperium in imperio*.

It will be therefore neceſſary to ſet this matter in a clear light, by inquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the chriſtian religion was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magiſtrates and ſenates were fully inſtructed in the rudiments of it. Beſides, the chriſtians were ſo numerous, and their worſhip ſo open before the converſion of princes, that their diſcipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a ſecret: They ſaw plainly a ſubordination of eccleſiaſtics, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons: That theſe had certain powers and employments different from the laity: That the biſhops were conſecrated, and ſet apart for that office by thoſe of their own order: That the preſbyters and *deacons* were differently ſet apart, always

ways by the biſhops: That none but the eccleſiaſtics preſumed to pray or preach in places ſet apart for God's worſhip, or to adminiſter the Lord's Supper: That all queſtions relating either to diſcipline or doctrine, were determined in eccleſiaſtical conventions. Theſe and the like doctrines and practices, being moſt of them directly proved, and the reſt by very fair conſequences deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apoſtles, were certainly received as a divine law by every prince or ſtate which admitted the chriſtian religion: and, conſequently, what they could not juſtly alter afterwards, any more than the common laws of nature. And, therefore, although the ſupreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from conſecrating biſhops, or refuſe thoſe that they do conſecrate; or, in ſhort, from performing any eccleſiaſtical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and ſleeping; yet they cannot themſelves perform thoſe offices, which are aſſigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apoſtles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine inſtitution, and conſequently, null and void. Our Saviour telleth us, *His kingdom is not of this world*; and therefore, to be ſure, the world is not of his kingdom, nor can ever pleaſe him by interfering in the adminiſtration of it, ſince he hath appointed miniſters of his own, and hath impowered and inſtructed them for that purpoſe: So that, I believe, the clergy, who, as he ſayeth, *are good at diſtinguiſhing*, would think it reaſonable to diſtinguiſh between their power, and the liberty of exerciſing this power. The former they claim immediately from Chriſt, and the latter from the permiſſion, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the ſolution I have given, cannot poſſibly interfere.

But this writer, ſetting up to form a ſyſtem upon ſtale, ſcanty topics, and a narrow circle of thought, falleth into a thouſand abſurdities. And for a further help, he hath a talent of rattling out phraſes which ſeem to have ſenſe, but have none at all: the uſual fate of thoſe who are ignorant of the force and compaſs of words, without

out which it is impoſſible for a man to write either pertinently or intelligibly upon the moſt obvious ſubjects.

So, in the beginning of his preface, page 4 he ſays, *The church of* England *being eſtabliſhed by acts of parliament, is a perfect creature of the civil power; I mean the polity and diſcipline of it, and it is that which maketh all the contention; for as to the doctrines expreſſed in the articles, I do not find high church to be in any manner of pain; but they who lay claim to moſt orthodoxy can diſtinguiſh themſelves out of them.* It is obſervable in this author, that his ſtile is naturally harſh and ungrateful to the ear, and his expreſſions mean and trivial; but whenever he goeth about to poliſh a period, you may be certain of ſome groſs defect in propriety or meaning: So the lines juſt quoted ſeem to run eaſily over the tongue; and, upon examination, they are perfect nonſenſe and blunder. To ſpeak in his own borrowed phraſe, what is contained in the idea of *eſtabliſhed?* Surely, not exiſtence. Doth *eſtabliſhment* give *being* to a thing? He might have ſaid the ſame thing of chriſtianity in general, or the exiſtence of God, ſince both are confirmed by acts of parliament. But, the beſt is behind: For, in the next line, having named the church half a dozen times before, he now ſays, he meaneth only *the polity and diſcipline of it:* As if, having ſpoke in praiſe of the art of phyſic, a man ſhould explain himſelf, that he meant only the inſtitution of a co lege of phyſicians into a preſident and fellows. And it will appear, that this author, however verſed in the practice, hath groſly tranſgreſſed the rules of nonſenſe, (whoſe property it is neither to affirm nor deny) ſince every viſible aſſertion gathered from thoſe few lines is abſolutely falſe: For where was the neceſſity of excepting the doctrines expreſſed in the articles, ſince theſe are equally creatures of the civil power, having been eſtabliſhed by acts of parliament as well as the others. But the church of *England* is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Chriſt and his apoſtles, and the inſtructions of the pureſt and earlieſt ages, and were received as ſuch by thoſe princes or ſtates who embraced chriſtianity, whatever prudential additions

tions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be juſtly altered or annulled by them.

What I have already ſaid, would, I think, be a ſufficient anſwer to his whole preface, and indeed to the greateſt part of his book, which is wholly turned upon battering down a ſort of independent power in the clergy; which few or none of them ever claimed or defended. But their being certain peculiarities in this preface, that very much ſet off the wit, the learning, the raillery, reaſoning and ſincerity of the author; I ſhall take notice of ſome of them, as I paſs. ——

But here, I hope, it will not be expected, that I ſhould beſtow remarks upon every paſſage in this book, that is liable to exception for ignorance, falſhood, dulneſs, or malice. Where he is ſo inſipid, that nothing can be ſtruck out for the reader's entertainment, I ſhall obſerve *Horace*'s rule:

Quæ deſperes tractata nitescere poſſe, relinques.

Upon which account I ſhall ſay nothing of that great inſtance of his candour and judgment in relation to Dr *Stilling fleet*, who (happening to ly under his diſpleaſure upon the fatal teſt of *imperium in imperio*) is *High-Church* and *Jacobite*, took the oaths of allegiance to ſave him from the gallows*, and ſubſcribed the articles only to keep his preferment: Whereas the character of that prelate is univerſally known to have been directly the reverſe of what this writer gives him.

But before he can attempt to ruin this damnable opinion of two independent powers, he telleth us, page 6. *It will be neceſſary to ſhew what is contained in the idea of government.* Now, it is to be underſtood,

* Page 5. He quotes biſhop *Stilling fleet*'s vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, where the biſhop ſays, that a man might be very right in the belief of an article, though miſtaken in the explication of it. Upon which *Tindal* obſerves; *Theſe men treat the articles, as they do the oath of allegiance, which, they ſay, obliges them not actually to aſſiſt the government, but to do nothing againſt it; that is, nothing that would bring him to the gallows.*

that

that this refined way of ſpeaking was introduced by Mr *Locke*; after whom the author limpeth as faſt as he is able. All the former philoſophers in the world, from the age of *Socrates* to ours, would have ignorantly put the queſtion, *Quid eſt imperium?* But now it ſeemeth we muſt vary our phraſe; and, ſince our modern improvement of human underſtanding, inſtead of deſiring a philoſopher to deſcribe or define a mouſe-trap, or tell me what it is; I muſt gravely aſk, what is contained in the idea of a mouſe-trap? But then to obſerve how deeply this new way of putting queſtions to a man's ſelf, maketh him enter into the nature of things; his preſent buſineſs is to ſhew us, what is contained in the idea of government. The company knoweth nothing of the matter, and would gladly be inſtructed; which he doth in the following words, p. 6.

It would be in vain for one intelligent being to pretend to ſet rules to the actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the compliance with, or puniſh the deviations from, his rules by ſome good, or evil, which is not the natural conſequence of thoſe actions; ſince the forbidding men to do or forbear an action on the account of that convenience or inconvenience which attendeth it, whether he who forbids it will or no, can be no more than advice.

I ſhall not often draw ſuch long quotations as this, which I could not forbear to offer as a ſpecimen of the propriety and perſpicuity of this author's ſtyle. And, indeed, what a light breaketh out upon us all, as ſoon as we have read theſe words! How thoroughly are we inſtructed in the whole nature of government? What mighty truths are here diſcovered; and how clearly conveyed to our underſtandings? And therefore let us melt this refined jargon into the *Old Style*, for the improvement of ſuch who are not enough converſant in the *New*.

If the author were one who uſed to talk like one of us, he would have ſpoke in this manner: I think it neceſſary to give a full and perfect definition of government, ſuch as will ſhew the nature and all the properties of it; and my definition is thus: One Man will never cure another of ſtealing horſes, merely by minding him of the pains he hath taken, the cold he hath

got, and the ſhoe-leather he hath loſt in ſtealing that horſe; nay, to warn him, that the horſe may kick or fling him, or coſt him more than he is worth in hay and oats, can be no more than advice. For the gallows is not the natural effect of robbing on the highway, as heat is of fire: and therefore, if you will govern a man, you muſt find out ſome other way of puniſhment, than what he will inflict upon himſelf.

Or, if this will not do, let us try it in another caſe, (which I inſtanced before) and in his own terms. Suppoſe he had thought it neceſſary (and I think it was as much ſo as the other) to ſhew us what is contained in the idea of a mouſe-trap, he muſt have proceeded in theſe terms. It would be in vain for an intelligent being, to ſet rules for hindering a mouſe from eating his cheeſe, unleſs he can inflict upon that mouſe ſome puniſhment, which is not the natural conſequence of eating the cheeſe. For, to tell her, it may ly heavy on her ſtomach; that ſhe will grow too big to get back into her hole, and the like, can be no more than advice: therefore, we muſt find out ſome way of puniſhing her, which hath more inconveniencies than ſhe will ever ſuffer by the mere eating of cheeſe. After this, who is ſo ſlow of underſtanding, as not to have in his mind a full and compleat idea of a mouſe-trap? Well——The Freethinkers may talk what they pleaſe of pedantry, and cant, and jargon of ſchool-men, and inſignificant terms in the writings of the clergy, if ever the moſt perplexed and perplexing follower of *Ariſtotle*, from *Scotus* to *Suarez*, could be a match for this author.

But the ſtrength of his arguments is equal to the clearneſs of his definitions. For, having moſt ignorantly divided government into three parts, whereof the firſt contains the other two; he attempteth to prove that the clergy poſſeſs none of theſe by a divine right. And he argueth thus, p. vii. *As to a legiſlative power, if that belongs to the clergy by divine right, it muſt be when they are aſſembled in convocation: but the* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. *is a bar to any ſuch divine right; becauſe that act makes it no leſs than a præmunire for them, ſo much as to meet without the king's writ*, &c. So that the force of his

his argument lieth here; if the clergy had a divine right, it is taken away by the 25th of *Henry* the VIII. And, as ridiculous as this argument is, the preface and book are founded upon it.

Another argument againſt the legiſlative power in the clergy of *England* is, p. viii. that *Tacitus* telleth us, that, in great Affairs, the *Germans* conſulted the whole body of the people. *De minoribus rebus principes conſultant, de majoribus omnes: Ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium eſt, apud principes pertractantur.* Tacitus *de moribus & populis Germaniæ.* Upon which, *Tindall* obſerveth thus: *De majoribus omnes*, was a fundamental among our anceſtors long before they arrived in *Great-Britain*, and matters of religion were ever reckoned among their *Majora.* (See Pref. p. viii. and ix.) Now it is plain, that our anceſtors, the *Saxons*, came from *Germany*: It is likewiſe plain, that religion was always reckoned by the heathens among their *Majora:* And it is plain, the whole body of the people could not be the clergy, and therefore, the clergy of *England* have no legiſlative power.

Thirdly, p. ix. They have no legiſlative power, becauſe Mr. *Waſhington*, in his *Obſervations on the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of the kings of* England, ſheweth from *undeniable authorities, that in the time of* William the Conqueror, *and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, there were no laws enacted concerning religion, but by the great Council of the kingdom.* I hope likewiſe, Mr. *Waſhington* obſerveth, that this great council of the kingdom, as appeareth by undeniable authorities, was ſometimes entirely compoſed of biſhops and clergy, and called the parliament, and often conſulted upon affairs of ſtate, as well as church, as it is agreed by twenty writers of three ages; and if Mr. *Waſhington* ſays otherwiſe, he is an author juſt fit to be quoted by *Beaux.*

Fourthly,——But it is endleſs to purſue this matter any further; in that, it is plain, the clergy have no divine right to make laws; becauſe *Hen.* VIII. *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*, with their parliaments, will not allow it them. Now, without examining what divine right the clergy have, or how far it extendeth; is it any *ſort of proof* that I have no right, becauſe a

ſtronger power will not let me exerciſe it? Or, doth all that this author ſays through his preface, or book itſelf, offer any other ſort of argument but this, or what he deduces the ſame way?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more ſupportable than the groſſneſs of hiſtorical remarks, which are ſcattered ſo plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to ſhew the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here juſt in my way; and, the rather, becauſe I deſign for the future, to let hundreds of them paſs without further notice. *When*, he ſays, p. x. *by the aboliſhing of the Pope's power, things were brought back to their ancient channel, the parliament's right in making eccleſiaſtical laws revived of courſe.* What can poſſibly be meant by this *antient channel?* Why, the channel that things ran in before the Pope had any power in *England:* that is to ſay, before *Auſtin* the monk converted *England*; before which time, it ſeems, the parliament had a right to make eccleſiaſtical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons met at *Weſtminſter.*

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of ſome lawyers, whoſe opinions this poor creature blindly followeth, and rendereth yet more abſurd by his comments. The knowledge of our conſtitution can be only attained by conſulting the earlieſt *Engliſh* hiſtories, of which thoſe gentlemen ſeem utterly ignorant, further than a quotation or an index. They would fain derive our government, as now conſtituted, from antiquity: And, becauſe they have ſeen *Tacitus* quoted for his *Majoribus omnes*; and have read of the *Goths* military inſtitution in their progreſſes and conqueſts, they preſently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached ſo far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from *Ariſtotle* and *Polybius*, who both diſtinctly name the compoſition of *Rex, Seniores, et Populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the higheſt approbation. The princes in the *Saxon* heptarchy, did indeed call their nobles ſometimes *together upon* weighty affairs, as moſt other princes of the

the world have done in all ages. But they made war and peace, and raiſed money by their own authority: They gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raiſed armies by their tenures. Beſides, ſome of thoſe kingdoms fell in by conqueſt, before *England* was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend no rights, but by the conceſſions of the conqueror.

Further, which is more material, upon the admiſſion of chriſtianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, ſo that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a conſiderable part. But, our preſent conſtitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond *Henry* I. Since which time it hath, in every age, admitted ſeveral alterations; and differeth now as much, even from what it was then, as almoſt any two ſpecies of government deſcribed by *Ariſtotle*. And, it would be much more reaſonable to affirm, that the government of *Rome* continued the ſame under *Juſtinian*, as it was in the time of *Scipio*; becauſe the ſenate and conſuls ſtill remained, although the power of both had been ſeveral hundred years transferred to the emperors.

REMARKS *on the* PREFACE.

Page iv, v. *IF men of oppoſite ſentiments can ſubſcribe the ſame articles, they are as much at liberty as if there were none.* May not a man ſubſcribe the whole articles, becauſe he differs from another in the explication of one? How many oaths are preſcribed, that men may differ in the explication of ſome part of them? Inſtance, *&c.*

Page vi. *Idea of Government.* A canting pedantic way, learned from *Locke*; and how prettily he ſheweth it. Inſtance---

Page vii. 25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 19. *is a bar to any ſuch divine Right* [*of a legiſlative power in the clergy.*] Abſurd to argue againſt the clergy's divine right, becauſe of the ſtatute of *Henry* VIII. How doth that deſtroy divine right? The ſottiſh way of arguing; from what the parliament *can do*; from their power, *&c.*

Page viii. *If the parliament did not think they had a plenitude of power in this matter, they would not have damned all the canons of* 1640. What doth he mean? A grave divine could not anſwer all his play-houſe and *Aſſatia* cant, *&c.* He hath read *Hudibras*, and many Plays.

Ibid. *If the parliament can annul eccleſiaſtical laws,—they muſt be able to make them.* Diſtinguiſh and ſhew the ſillineſs, *&c.*

Ibid. All that he ſaith againſt the diſcipline, he might ſay the ſame againſt the doctrine, nay, againſt the belief of a God, *viz.* That the legiſlature might forbid it. The church formeth and contriveth canons; and the civil power, which is compulſive, confirms them.

Page ix. *There were no laws enacted, but by the great council of the kingdom.* And that was very often, chiefly, only biſhops.

Ibid. *Laws ſettled by parliament to puniſh the clergy.* What laws were thoſe?

Page x. *The people are bound to no laws but of their own chuſing.* It is fraudulent; for they may conſent to what others chuſe, and ſo people often do.

Page xiv. paragraph 6. *The clergy are not ſuppoſed to have any divine legiſlature, becauſe that muſt be ſuperior to all worldly power; and then the clergy might as well forbid the parliament to meet, but when and where they pleaſe,* &c. No ſuch conſequence at all. They have a power excluſive from all others. Ordained to act as clergy, but not govern in civil affairs; nor act without leave of the civil power.

Page xxv. *The parliament ſuſpected the love of power natural to churchmen.* Truly, ſo is the love of pudding, and moſt other things deſirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And, therefore, they are held not in eſteem for what they are like in, but for their virtues. The true way to abuſe them with effect, is to tell us ſome faults of their's, that other men have not, or not ſo much of as they, *&c.* Might not any man ſpeak full as bad of ſenates, dyets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he doth of biſhops?

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Page xxxi. *They might as well have made cardinals* Campegi *and* de Chinuchii, *biſhops of* Salisbury *and* Worceſter, *as have enacted that their ſeveral ſees and biſhopricks were utterly void.* No. The legiſlature might determine he ſhould not be a biſhop *there*, but not *make* a biſhop.

Ibid. *Were not a great number deprived by Parliament, upon the reſtoration?* Does he mean presbyters? What ſignifies that?

Ibid. *Have they not truſted this power with our princes?* Why, aye. But that argueth not right, but power. Have they not cut off a king's head, *&c.* The church muſt do the beſt they can, if not what they would.

Page xxxvi. *If tythes and firſt-fruits are paid to ſpiritual perſons as ſuch, the King or Queen is the moſt ſpiritual perſon*, &c. As if the firſt-fruits, *&c.* were paid to the king, as tythes to a ſpiritual perſon.

Page xliii. *King* Charles II. *thought fit that the biſhops in* Scotland *ſhould hold their biſhopricks, during will and pleaſure; I do not find that high church complained of this as an encroachment*, &c. No; but as a pernicious counſel of Lord *Loch*.

Page xliv. *The common law Judges have a power to determine, whether a man has a legal right to the ſacrament.* They pretend it, but what we complain of as a moſt abominable hardſhip, *&c.*

Page xlv *Giving men thus blindly to the devil, is an extraordinary piece of complaiſance to a lay-chancellor.* He is ſomething in the right; and therefore it is a pity there are any; and I hope the church will provide againſt it. But if the ſentence be juſt, it is not the perſon, but the contempt. And, if the author attacketh a man on the highway, and taketh but two-pence, he ſhall be ſent to the gallows, more terrible to him than the devil, for his contempt of the law, *&c.* Therefore he need not complain of being ſent to hell.

Page lxiv. Mr. *Leſly* may carry things too far, as it is natural, becauſe the other extreme is ſo great. But what he ſays of the king's loſſes, ſince the church-lands were given away, is too great a truth, *&c.*

Page lxxvi. *To which I have nothing to plead, except the zeal I have for the church of* England. You will ſee

ſome

ſome pages further, what he meaneth by the church; but it is not fair not to begin with telling us what is contained in the idea of a church, *&c.*

Page lxxxiii. *They will not be angry with me for thinking better of the church than they do*, &c. No, but they will differ from you; becauſe the worſe the queen is pleaſed, you think her better. I believe the church will not concern themſelves much about your opinion of them, *&c.*

Page lxxxiv. *But the Popiſh, Eaſtern, Presbyterian and Jacobite Clergy*, &c. This is like a general pardon, with ſuch exceptions as make it uſeleſs, if we compute it, *&c.*

Page lxxxvii. *Miſapplying of the word Church*, &c. This is cavilling. No doubt his project is for exempting the people: But that is not what in common ſpeech we uſually mean by the church. Beſides, who doth not know that diſtinction?

Ibid. *Conſtantly apply the ſame ideas to them.* This is, in old *Engliſh*, meaning the ſame thing.

Page lxxxix. *Demonſtrates I could have no deſign but the promoting of truth*, &c. Yes, ſeveral deſigns, as money, ſpleen, atheiſm, *&c.* What? will any man think truth was his deſign, and not money and malice? Doth he expect the houſe will go into a committee for a bill to bring things to his ſcheme, to confound every thing, *&c.*

Some deny *Tindall* to be the author, and produce ſtories of his dulneſs and ſtupidity. But what is there in all this book, that the dulleſt man in *England*, might not write, if he were angry and bold enough, and had no regard to truth?

REMARKS *upon the* BOOK, *&c.*

Page 4. *WHETHER* Louis XIV. *has ſuch a power over* Philip V? He ſpeaketh here of the unlimited, uncontroulable authority of fathers. A very fooliſh queſtion; and his diſcourſe hitherto of government, weak and trivial, and liable to objections.

Ibid.

Ibid. *Whom he is to conſider not as his own, but the Almighty's workmanſhip.* A very likely conſideration for the ideas of the ſtate of nature. A very wrong deduction of paternal government; but that is nothing to the diſpute, *&c.*

Page 12. *And as ſuch might juſtly be puniſhed by every one in the ſtate of nature.* Falſe; he doth not ſeem to underſtand the ſtate of nature, although he hath borrowed it from *Hobbes*, &c.

Page 14. *Merely ſpeculative points, and other indifferent things*, &c. And why are ſpeculative opinions ſo inſignificant? Do not men proceed in their practice according to their ſpeculations? So, if the author were a chancellor, and one of his ſpeculations were, that the poorer the clergy the better; would not that be of great uſe, if a cauſe came before him of tythes or church-lands.

Ibid. *Which can only be known by examining whether men had any power in the ſtate of nature over their own, or others actions in theſe matters.* No, that is a wrong method, unleſs where religion hath not been revealed, in natural religion.

Ibid. *Nothing at firſt ſight can be more obvious, than that in all religious matters, none could make over the right of judging for himſelf, ſince that would cauſe his religion to be abſolutely at the diſpoſal of another.* At his rate of arguing (I think I do not miſrepreſent him, and I believe he will not deny the conſequence) a man may profeſs heatheniſm, mahometaniſm, *&c.* and gain as many proſelytes as he can; and they may have their aſſemblies, and the magiſtrate ought to protect them, provided they do not diſturb the ſtate: And they may enjoy all ſecular preferments, be lords-chancellors, judges, *&c.* But there are ſome opinions in ſeveral religions, which, although they do not directly make men rebel, yet lead to it. Inſtance ſome. Nay we might have temples for idols, *&c.* A thouſand ſuch abſurdities follow from his general notions, and ill-digeſted ſchemes. And we ſee in the Old Teſtament, that kings were reckoned good or ill, as they ſuffered or hindered image-worſhip and idolatry, *&c.* which was limiting conſcience.

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Page 15. *Men may form what clubs, companies, or meetings they think fit,* &c. *which the magiſtrate, as long as the public ſuſtains no damage, cannot hinder,* &c. This is falſe; although the public ſuſtain no damage, they will forbid clubs, where they think danger may happen.

Page 16. *The magiſtrate is as much obliged to protect them in the way they chuſe of worſhipping him, as in any other indifferent matter.*—Page 17. *The magiſtrate to treat all his ſubjects alike, how much ſoever they differ from him or one another in theſe matters.* This ſhews, that although they be *Turks, Jews,* or *Heathens,* it is ſo. But we are ſure chriſtianity is the only true religion, *&c.* and therefore it ſhould be the magiſtrate's chief care to propagate it; and that God ſhould be worſhipped in that form, that thoſe who are the teachers think moſt proper, *&c.*

Page 18. *So that perſecution is the moſt comprehenſive of all crimes,* &c. But he hath not told us what is concluded in the idea of perſecution. State it right.

Ibid. *But here it may be demanded, if a man's conſcience make him do ſuch acts,* &c. This doth not anſwer the above objection: For, if the public be not diſturbed with atheiſtical principles preached, nor immoralities, all is well. So that ſtill, men may be *Jews, Turks,* &c.

Page 22. *The ſame reaſon which obliges them to make ſtatutes of mortmain, and other laws, againſt the people's giving eſtates to the clergy, will equally hold for their taking them away when given.* A great ſecurity for property! Will this hold to any other ſociety in a ſtate, as merchants, *&c.* or only to eccleſiaſtics? A pretty project: Forming general ſchemes requires a deeper head than this man's.

Ibid. *But the good of the ſociety being the only reaſon of the magiſtrate's having any power over men's properties, I cannot ſee why he ſhould deprive his ſubjects of any part thereof, for the maintenance of ſuch opinions as have no tendency that way,* &c. Here is a paragraph (*vide* alſo *infra*) which has a great deal in it. The meaning is, that no man ought to pay tythes, who doth *not believe* what the miniſter preacheth. But how came

came they by this property? When they purchaſed the land, they paid only for ſo much; and the tythes were exempted. It is an elder title than any man's eſtate is, and if it were taken away to-morrow, it could not, without a new law, belong to the owners of the other nine parts, any more than impropriations do.

Ibid. *For the maintenance of ſuch opinions, as no ways contribute to the public good.* By ſuch opinions as the public receive no advantage by, he muſt mean chriſtianity.

Page 23. *Who, by reaſon of ſuch articles, are divided into different ſects.* A pretty cauſe of ſects! *&c.*

Page 24. *So the ſame reaſon, as often as it occurs, will oblige him to leave that church.* This is an excuſe for his turning papiſt.

Ibid. *Unleſs you ſuppoſe churches like traps, eaſy to admit one; but when once he is in, there he muſt always ſtick, either for the pleaſure or profit of the trap-ſetters.* Remark his wit.

Page 29. *Nothing can be more abſurd than maintaining, there muſt be two independent powers in the ſame ſociety,* &c. This is abominably abſurd; ſhew it.

Page 33. *The whole hierarchy as built on it, muſt neceſſarily fall to the ground, and great will be the fall of this ſpiritual* Babylon. I will do him juſtice, and take notice, when he is witty, *&c.*

Page 36. *For if there may be two ſuch* [*independent powers*] *in every ſociety on earth, why may there not be more than one in heaven?* A delicate conſequence.

Page 37. *Without having the leſs, he could not have the greater, in which that is contained.* Sophiſtical; inſtance wherein.

Page 42. *Some ſince, ſubtiler than the Jews, have managed commutations more to their own advantage, by enriching themſelves, and beggaring, if Fame be not a lyar, many an honeſt diſſenter.* It is fair to produce witneſſes, is ſhe a lyar or not? The report is almoſt impoſſible. Commutations were contrived for roguiſh regiſters and proctors, and lay-chancellors, but not for the clergy.

Page 43. *Kings and people, who (as the Indians do the Devil) adored the Pope out of fear.* I am in doubt, whether

whether I ſhall allow that for wit or no, *&c.* Look you, in theſe caſes, preface it thus: If one may uſe an old ſaying.

Page 44. *One reaſon why the clergy make what they call ſchiſm, to be ſo heinous a ſin.* There it is now; becauſe he hath changed churches, he ridiculeth ſchiſm; as *Milton* wrote for divorces, becauſe he had an ill wife. For ten pages on, we muſt give the true anſwer, that makes all theſe arguments of no uſe.

Page 60. *It poſſibly will be ſaid, I have all this while been doing theſe gentlemen a great deal of wrong.* To do him juſtice, he ſets forth the objections of his adverſaries with great ſtrength, and much to their advantage. No doubt thoſe are the very objections we would offer.

Page 68. *Their executioner.* He is fond of this word in many places, yet there is nothing in it further than it is the name for the hangman, *&c.*

Page 69. *Since they exclude both from having any thing in the ordering of church matters.* Another part of his ſcheme: For by this the people ought to execute eccleſiaſtical offices without diſtinction, for he brings the other opinion as an abſurd one.

Page 72. *They claim a judicial power, and, by virtue of it, the government of the church, and thereby (pardon the expreſſion) become traitors both to God and Man.* Who doth he deſire to pardon him? or is this meant of the *Engliſh* clergy? ſo it ſeemeth. Doth he deſire them to pardon him? they do it as chriſtians. Doth he deſire the government to do it? but then how can they make examples? He ſays, the clergy do ſo, *&c.* ſo he means all.

Page 74. *I would gladly know what they mean by giving the Holy Ghoſt.* Explain what is really meant by giving the Holy Ghoſt, like a king impowering an ambaſſador *.

Page 76. *The popiſh clergy make very bold with the three perſons of the Trinity.* Why then, don't mix them, but we ſee whom this glanceth on moſt. As to the *Conge d'elire*, and *Nolo epiſcopari*, not ſo abſurd; and, if omitted, why changed.

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[* See *Hooker's* Eccl. Pol. Book v. Sect. 77.]

Page 78. *But not to digreſs*—Pray, doth he call ſcurrility upon the clergy, a digreſſion? The apology needleſs, *&c.*

Ibid. *A clergyman, it is ſaid, is God's ambaſſador.* But you know an ambaſſador may leave a ſecretary, *&c.*

Ibid. *Call their pulpit ſpeeches, the word of God.* That is a miſtake.

Page 79. *Such perſons to repreſent him.* Are not they that own his power, fitter to repreſent him than others? Would the author be a fitter perſon?

Ibid. *Puft up with intolerable pride and inſolence.* Not at all; for where is the pride to be employed by a prince, whom ſo few own, and whoſe being is diſputed by ſuch as this author?

Ibid. *Perhaps from a poor ſervitor*, &c. *to be a prime miniſter in God's kingdom.* That is right. God taketh notice of the difference between poor ſervitors, *&c.* Extremely fooliſh — ſhew it. The argument lieth ſtrongly againſt the apoſtles, poor fiſhermen, and St *Paul*, a tent-maker. So groſs and idle!

Page 80. *The formality of laying hand over head on a man.* A pun; but an old one. I remember, when *Swan* made that pun firſt, he was ſeverely checked for it.

Ibid. *What is more required to give one a right*, &c. Here ſhew, what power is in the church, and what in the ſtate, to make prieſts.

Page 85. *To bring men into, and not turn them out of the ordinary way of ſalvation.* Yes; but as one rotten ſheep doth miſchief —— and do you think it reaſonable, that ſuch a one as this author, ſhould converſe with chriſtians, and weak ones.

Page 86. See his fine account of ſpiritual puniſhment.

Page 87. *The clergy affirm, that if they had not the power to exclude men from the church, its unity could not be preſerved.* So to expel an ill member from a college, would be the way to divide the college; as in *All Souls*, &c. Apply it to him.

Page 88. *I cannot ſee but it is contrary to the rules of charity, to exclude men from the church*, &c. All this

turns upon the falſeſt reaſoning in the world. So, if a man be impriſoned for ſtealing a horſe, he is hindered from other duties: And, you might argue, that a man who doth ill, ought to be more diligent in minding other duties, and not to be debarred from them. It is for contumacy and rebellion againſt that power in the church, which the law hath confirmed. So a man is outlawed for a triffle, upon contumacy.

Page 92. *Obliging all by penal laws to receive the Sacrament.* This is falſe.

Page 93. *The want of which means can only harden a man in his impenitence.* It is for his being hardened that he is excluded. Suppoſe a ſon robbeth his father in the high-way, and his father will not ſee him till he reſtoreth the money and owneth his fault. It is hard to deny him paying his duty in other things, &c. How abſurd this!

Page 95. *And that only they had a right to give it.* Another part of his ſcheme, that the people have a right to give the ſacrament. See more of it. p. 135 and 137.

Page 96. *Made familiar to ſuch practices by the Heathen prieſts.* Well; and this ſhews the neceſſity of it for peace's ſake. A ſilly objection of this and other enemies to religion, to think to diſgrace it by applying heatheniſm, which only concerns the political part wherein they were as wiſe as others, and might give rules. Inſtance in ſome, *&c.*

Page 98. *How differently from this do the great pretenders to primitive practice act*, &c. This a remarkable paſſage. Doth he condemn or allow this myſterious way? It ſeems the firſt—and therefore theſe words are a little turned, but infallibly ſtood in the firſt draught as a great argument for *popery*.

Page 100. *They dreſs them up in a* San-benito. So, now we are to anſwer for the Inquiſition. One thing is, that he makes the fathers guilty of aſſerting moſt of the corruptions about the power of prieſts.

Page 104. *Some prieſts aſſume to themſelves an arbitrary power of excluding men from the Lord's Supper.* His ſcheme; that any body may adminiſter the ſacraments, *women or children*, *&c.*

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Page 108. *One no more than another can be reckoned a prieſt.* See his ſcheme. Here he diſgraces what the law enacts about the manner of conſecrating, *&c.*

Page 118. *Churches ſerve to worſe purpoſes than bear-gardens.* This from *Hudibras.*

Page 119. *In the time of that wiſe Heathen* Ammianus Marcellinus. Here he runs down all chriſtianity in general

Page 120. *I ſhall; in the following part of my diſcourſe, ſhew that this doctrine is ſo far from ſerving the ends of religion, that,* 1. *It prevents the ſpreading of the goſpel,* &c. This independent power in the church is like the worms; being the cauſe of all diſeaſes

124. *How eaſily could the* Roman *emperors have deſtroyed the church?* Juſt as if he had ſaid; how eaſily could *Herod* kill *Chriſt* whilſt a child, *&c.*

Page 125. *The people were ſet againſt biſhops by reaſon of their tyranny.* Wrong. For the biſhops were no tyrants: Their power was ſwallowed up by the popes, and the people deſired they ſhould have more. It were the Regulars that tyrannized and formed prieſtcraft. He is ignorant.

Page 139. *He is not bound by the laws of Chriſt to have his friends, in order to be baptized,* &c. This directly againſt the Goſpel.—One would think him an emiſſary, by his preaching ſchiſm.

Page 142. *Then will the* communion of ſaints *be practicable, to which the principles of all parties, the occaſional Conformiſts only excepted, ſtand in direct oppoſition,* &c. So that all are wrong but they. The ſcripture is fully againſt ſchiſm. *Tindall* promoteth it, and placeth in it all the preſent and future happineſs of man.

Page 144. All he has hitherto ſaid on this matter, with a very little turn, were arguments for popery: For, it is certain, that religion had ſhare in very few wars for many hundred years before the reformation, becauſe they were all of a mind. It is the ambition of rebels, preaching upon the diſcontents of ſectaries, that they are not ſupreme, which hath cauſed wars for religion. He is miſtaken altogether. His little *narrow underſtanding* and want of learning.

Page 145. *Though ſome ſay the high-flyers lives might ſerve for a very good rule, if men would act quite contrary to them.* Is he one of thoſe Some? Beſides the new turn of wit, *&c.* all the clergy in *England* come under his notion of high-flyers, as he ſtates it.

Page 147 *None of them (Churchmen) could be brought to acknowledge it lawful upon any account whatever, to exclude the Duke of* York. This account falſe in fact.

Ibid. *And the body politick, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, muſt be dealt with after the ſame manner, as the body natural.* What, becauſe it is called a body, and is a ſimile, muſt it hold in all circumſtances?

Page 148. *We find all wiſe legiſlators have had regard to the tempers, inclinations, and prejudices,* &c. This paragraph falſe.——It was directly contrary in ſeveral, as *Lycurgus*, &c.

Page 152. *All the ſkill of the prelatiſts is not able to diſcover the leaſt diſtinction between biſhop and preſbyter.* Yet, God knows, this hath been done many a time.

Page 158. *The epiſtle to the* Philippians *is directed to the biſhops and deacons, I mean in due order after the people*, viz. *to the ſaints with their biſhops and deacons.* I hope he would argue from another place, that the people precede the king, becauſe of theſe words. *Ye ſhall be deſtroyed both you and your king.*

Page 167. *The pope and other great church dons.* I ſuppoſe, he meaneth biſhops: But I wiſh, he would explain himſelf, and not be ſo very witty in the midſt of an argument; it is like two mediums; not fair in diſputing.

Page 168. *Clemens Romanus blames the people not for aſſuming a power, but for making a wrong uſe of it,* &c. His great error all along is, that he doth not diſtinguiſh between a power, and a liberty of exerciſing that power, *&c.* I would appeal to any man, whether the clergy have not too little power, ſince a book like his, that unſettleth foundations and would deſtroy all, goes unpuniſhed, *&c.*

Page 171. *By this or ſome ſuch method the biſhops obtained their power over their fellow preſbyters, and both over the people. The whole tenor of the goſpel directly contrary to it.* Then it is not an allowable means: This, carries

carries it ſo far as to ſpoil his own ſyſtem; it is a ſin to have biſhops as we have them.

172. *The preſervation of peace and unity, and not any divine right, was the reaſon of eſtabliſhing a ſuperiority of one of the preſbyters over the reſt. Otherwiſe there would, as they ſay, have been as many ſchiſmatics as preſbyters. No great compliment to the clergy of thoſe days.* Why ſo? It is the natural effect of a worſe independency, which he keepeth ſuch a clatter about; an independency of churches on each other, which muſt naturally create ſchiſm.

Page 183. *How could the chriſtians have aſſerted the diſintereſtedneſs of thoſe who firſt preached the goſpel, particularly their having a right to the tenth part?* Yes, that would have paſſed eaſy enough; for they could not imagine teachers could live on air; and their heathen prieſts were much more unreaſonable.

Page 184. *Mens ſuffering for ſuch opinions is not ſufficient to ſupport the weight of them.* This is a glance againſt chriſtianity. State the caſe of converting infidels; the converters are ſuppoſed few; the bulk of the prieſts muſt be of the converted country. It is their own people therefore they maintain. What project or end can a few converters propoſe? they can leave no power to their families, &c. State this, I ſay, at length, and give it a true turn. Princes give corporations power to purchaſe lands.

Page 187. *That it became an eaſy prey to the barbarous nations.* Ignorance in *Tindall!* The empire long declined before chriſtianity was introduced. This a wrong cauſe, if ever there was one.

Page 190. *It is the clergy's intereſt to have religion corrupted.* Quite the contrary; prove it. How is it the intereſt of the *Engliſh* clergy to corrupt religion? The more juſtice and piety the people have, the better it is for them; for that would prevent the penury of farmers, and the oppreſſion of exacting covetous landlords, &c. That which hath corrupted religion, is the liberty unlimited of profeſſing all opinions. Do not lawyers render law intricate by their ſpeculations, &c. And phyſicians, &c.

Page 209. *The ſpirit and temper of the clergy, &c.* What does this man think the clergy are made of? Anſwer generally to what he ſays againſt councils in the ten pages before. Suppoſe I ſhould bring quotations in their praiſe.

Page 211. *As the clergy, though few in compariſon of the laity, were the inventors of corruptions.* His ſcheme is, that the fewer and poorer the clergy the better, and the contrary among the laity. A noble principle; and delicate conſequences from it!

Page 207. *Men are not always condemned for the ſake of opinions, but opinions ſometimes for the ſake of men.* And ſo, he hopes, that, if his opinions are condemned, people will think it is a ſpite againſt him, as having been always ſcandalous.

Page 210. *The meaneſt layman as good a judge as the greateſt prieſt; for the meaneſt man is as much intereſted in the truth of religion as the greateſt prieſt.* As if one ſhould ſay, the meaneſt ſick man hath as much intereſt in health as a phyſician, therefore is as good a judge of phyſick as a phyſician, *&c.*

Ibid. *Had ſynods been compoſed of laymen, none of thoſe corruptions which tend to advance the intereſt of the clergy,* &c. True. But the part the laity had in reforming, was little more than plundering. He ſhould underſtand, that the nature of things is this, that the clergy are made of men, and, without ſome encouragement, they will not have the beſt, but the worſt.

Page 215. *They who gave eſtates to, rather than they who took them from the clergy, were guilty of ſacrilege.* Then the people are the church, and the clergy not; another part of his ſcheme.

Page 219. *The clergy as they ſubſiſted by the alms of the people,* &c. This he would have ſtill. Shew the folly of it. Not poſſible to ſhew any civilized nation ever did it. Who would be clergymen then? The abſurdity appears by putting the caſe, that none were to be ſtateſmen, lawyers, or phyſicians, but who were to ſubſiſt by alms.

Page 222. *Theſe ſubtle clergymen work their deſigns, who lately cut out ſuch a tacking job for them,* &c. He is mistaken —Every body was for the bill almoſt, though

though not for the tack. The biſhop of *Sarum* was for it, as appears by his ſpeech againſt it. But it ſeems, the tacking is owing to metaphyſical ſpeculations. I wonder whether is moſt perplexed, this author in his ſtile, or the writings of our divines. In the judgment of all people, our divines have carried practical preaching and writing to the greateſt perfection it ever arrived to; which ſhews, that we may affirm in general, our clergy is excellent, although this or that man be faulty. As if an army be conſtantly victorious, regular, *&c* we may ſay, it is an excellent victorious army: But *Tindall*, to diſparage it, would ſay, ſuch a ſerjeant ran away; ſuch an enſign hid himſelf in a ditch; nay, one colonel turned his back, therefore, it is a corrupt, cowardly army, *&c.*

Page 224. *They were as apprehenſive of the works of* Ariſtotle, *as ſome men are of the works of a late philoſopher, which, they are afraid, will let too much light into the world.* Yet juſt ſuch another; only a commentator on *Ariſtotle.* People are likely to improve their underſtanding much with *Locke*: It is not his *human underſtanding*, but other works that people diſlike, although in that there are ſome dangerous tenets, as that of [*no*] *innate ideas.*

Page 226. *Could they, like the popiſh prieſts, add to this a reſtraint on the preſs, their buſineſs would be done.* So it ought: For example, to hinder his book, becauſe it is written to juſtify the vices and infidelity of the age. There can be no other deſign in it. For, is this a way or manner to do good? Railing doth but provoke. The opinion of the whole parliament is, the clergy are too poor.

Ibid. *When ſome nations could be no longer kept from prying into learning, this miſerable gibberiſh of the ſchools was contrived.* We have exploded ſchoolmen as much as he; and in ſome peoples opinion too much, ſince the liberty of embracing any opinion is allowed. They following *Ariſtotle*, who is doubtleſs the greateſt maſter of arguing in the world: But it hath been a faſhion of late years to explode *Ariſtotle*, and therefore this man hath fallen into it like others, for that reaſon, without underſtanding

underſtanding him. *Ariſtotle's* poetry, rhetorick, and politics, are admirable; and therefore, it is likely, ſo are his logics.

Page 230. *In theſe freer countries, as the clergy have leſs power, ſo religion is better underſtood, and more uſeful and excellent diſcourſes are made on that ſubject*, &c. Not generally. *Holland* not very famous; *Spain* hath been; and *France* is. But it requireth more knowledge than his, to form general rules, which people ſtrain (when ignorant) to falſe deductions to make them out.

Page 232. Chap. VII. *That this hypotheſis of an Independent power in any ſett of clergymen, makes all reformation unlawful, except where thoſe who have this power, do conſent.* The title of this chapter, *A Truiſm.*

Page 234. *If God has not placed mankind, in reſpect to civil matters, under an abſolute power, but has permitted them in every ſociety to act as they judge beſt for their own ſafety*, &c? Bad parallels; bad politics; want of due diſtinction between teaching and government. The people may know when they are governed well, but not be wiſer than their inſtructers. Shew the difference.

Ibid *If God has allowed the civil ſociety theſe privileges, can we ſuppoſe he hath leſs kindneſs for his church*, &c. Here they are diſtinguiſhed then; here it makes for him. It is a ſort of turn of expreſſion, which is ſcarce with him, and he contradicts himſelf to follow it.

Page 235. *This curſed hypotheſis had, perhaps, never been thought on with relation to civils, had not the Clergy (who have an inexhauſtible magazine of oppreſſive doctrines) contrived firſt in eccleſiaſticals*, &c. The ſeventh paragraph furious and falſe. Were there no tyrants before the clergy, *&c?*

Page 236. *Therefore, in order to ſerve them, though I expect little thanks*, &c. And, why ſo? Will they not, as you ſay, follow their intereſt? I thought you ſaid ſo. He has three or four ſprightly turns of this kind, that look, as if he thought he had done wonders, and had put all the clergy in a ferment: Whereas, I do aſſure him, there are but two things wonderful in his *book: Firſt*, how any man in a chriſtian country could *have the boldneſs* and wickedneſs to write it: And,

how

how any government would neglect punishing the author of it, if not as an enemy of religion, yet a profligate trumpeter of sedition. These are hard words, got by reading his book.

Ibid. *The light of nature as well as the gospel, obliges people to judge of themselves*, &c. *to avoid false prophets, seducers*, &c. The legislature can turn out a priest, and appoint another ready made, but not make one; as you discharge a physician, and may take a farrier; but he is no physician, unless made as he ought to be.

Ibid. *Since no more power is required for the one than the other.* That is, I dislike my physician, and can turn him off, therefore I can make any man a physician, *&c. Cujus est destruere*, &c. Jest on it: Therefore, because he lays schemes for destroying the church, we must employ him to raise it again. See, what danger lies in applying maxims at random. So, because it is the soldiers business to knock men on the head, it is theirs likewise to raise them to life, *&c.*

Page 237. *It can belong only to the people to appoint their own ecclesiastical officers.* This word *people* is so delicious in him, that I cannot tell what is included in the idea of the *people*. Doth he mean the rabble or the legislature, *&c?* In this sense it may be true, that the legislature giveth leave to the bishops to appoint, and they appoint themselves; I mean, the executive power appoints, *&c.* He sheweth his ignorance in government. As to *High Church* he carrieth it a prodigious way, and includeth, in the idea of it, more than others will allow.

Page 239. *Though it be customary to admit none to the ministry who are not approved by the bishops or priests*, &c. One of his principles to expose.

Ibid. *If every one has not an inherent right to chuse his own guide, then a man must be either of the religion of his guide, or*, &c. That would make delicate work in a nation: What would become of all our churches? They must dwindle into conventicles. Shew what would be the consequence of this scheme in several points. This great reformer, if his projects were reduced to *practice, how* many thousand sects, and consequently

frequently tumults, *&c.* Men muſt be governed in ſpeculation, at leaſt not ſuffered to vent them; becauſe opinions tend to actions, which are moſt governed by opinions, *&c.* If thoſe who write for the church writ no better, they would ſucceed but ſcurvily But to ſee whether he be a good writer, let us ſee when he hath publiſhed his ſecond part.

Page 253. *An excellent author in his preface to the account of Denmark.* This man judgeth and writeth much of a level. *Molesworth's* preface, full of ſtale profligate topics. That author wrote his book in ſpite to a nation, as this doth to religion, and both perhaps on poor perſonal piques.

Ibid. *By which means, and not by any difference in ſpeculative matters, they are more rich and populous.* As if ever any body thought that a difference in ſpeculative opinions made men richer or poorer; for example, *&c.*

Page 258. *Play the devil for God's ſake.* If this is meant for wit, I would be glad to obſerve it; but in ſuch caſes I firſt look whether there be common ſenſe, *&c.*

Page 261. *Chriſtendom has been the ſcene of perpetual wars, maſſacres,* &c. He doth not conſider that moſt religious wars have been cauſed by ſchiſms, when the diſſenting parties were ready to join with any ambitious, diſcontented men. The national religion always deſireth peace, even in her notions, for its intereſts.

Page 270. *Some have taken the liberty to compare a high church prieſt in Politics to a monkey in a Glaſs-ſhop, where, as he can do no good, ſo he never fails of doing miſchief enough.* That is his modeſty, it is his own ſimile, and it rather fits a man that does ſo and ſo, (meaning himſelf.) Beſides, the compariſon is fooliſh. So it is with *men*, as with *flags*.

Page 276. *Their intereſt obliges them directly to promote tyranny.* The matter is, that chriſtianity is the fault which ſpoils the prieſts, for they were like other men before they were prieſts. Among the *Romans*, prieſts did not do ſo, for they had the greateſt power *during* the republic. I wonder he did not prove, they *ſpoiled Nero*.

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Page 277. *No princes have been more insupportable and done greater violence to the commonwealth than those the clergy have honoured for saints and martyrs* For example, in our country, the princes most celebrated by our clergy are, &c &c &c. And the quarrels since the conqueſt were nothing at all of the clergy, but purely of families, &c. wherein the clergy only joined like other men.

Page 279. *After the reformation, I desire to know whether the conduct of the clergy was any ways altered for the better*, &c. Monſtrous miſrepreſentation! Does this man's ſpirit of declaiming let him forget all truth of fact, as here, &c? Shew it. Or doth he flatter himſelf, a time will come, in future ages, that men will believe it on his word? In ſhort, between declaiming, between miſrepreſenting, and falſeneſs, and charging popiſh things, and independency huddled together, his whole book is employed.

Set forth at large the neceſſity of union in religion, and the diſadvantage of the contrary, and anſwer the contrary in *Holland*, where they have no religion, and are the worſt conſtituted government in the world to laſt. It is ignorance of cauſes and appearances which makes ſhallow people judge ſo much to their advantage. They are governed by the adminiſtration and almoſt legiſlature of *Holland*, through advantage of property; nor are they fit to be ſet in balance with a noble kingdom, &c. like a man that gets a hundred pounds a-year by hard labour, and one that has it in land.

Page 280. *It may be worth inquiring, whether the difference between the ſeveral ſects in England*, &c. A noble notion ſtarted, that union in the church muſt enſlave the kingdom: reflect on it This man hath ſomewhere heard, that it is a point of wit to advance paradoxes, and the bolder the better. But the wit lies in maintaining them, which he neglecteth, and formeth imaginary concluſions from them, as if they were true and unconteſted.

He adds, *That in the beſt conſtituted church, the greateſt good which can be expected of the eccleſiaſtics is from their diviſions. This is a* maxim deduced from a gradation

dation of falſe ſuppoſitions. If a man ſhould turn the tables, and argue that all the debauchery, atheiſm, licentiouſneſs, *&c.* of the times, were owing to the poverty of the clergy, *&c.* what would he ſay? There have been more wars of religion ſince the ruin of the clergy, than before in *England.* All the civil wars before were from other cauſes.

Page 283. *Prayers are made in the loyal univerſity of* Oxford, *to continue the throne free from the contagion of ſchiſm. See* Mather's *Sermon on the 29th of May,* 1705 Thus he ridicules the univerſity, while he is eating their bread. The whole univerſity comes with the moſt loyal addreſſes, yet that goes for nothing. If one indiſcreet man drops an indiſcreet word, all muſt anſwer for it.

Page 286. *By allowing all, who hold no opinions prejudicial to the ſtate, and contribute equally with their fellow-ſubjects to its ſupport, equal privileges in it.* But who denies that of the diſſenters? The Calviniſt ſcheme, one would not think, proper for monarchy. Therefore, they fall in with the *Scotch, Geneva* and *Holland*; and when they had ſtrength here, they pulled down the monarchy. But I will tell an opinion they hold prejudicial to the ſtate in his opinion; and that is, that they are againſt toleration; of which, if I do not ſhew him ten times more inſtances from their greateſt writers, than he can do of paſſive obedience among the clergy, I have done.

Does not juſtice demand, that they who alike contribute to the burden, ſhould alike receive the advantage? Here is another of his maxims cloſely put, without conſidering what exceptions may be made. The papiſts have contributed doubly (being ſo taxed); therefore, by this rule, they ought to have double advantage. Protection in property, leave to trade and purchaſe, *&c.* are enough for a government to give. Employments in a ſtate are a reward for thoſe who entirely agree with it, *&c* For example, a man, who, upon all occaſions, declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have *employment*; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in *a capacity* of reducing it to practice, *&c.*

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Page 287. *There can be no alteration in the eſtabliſhed mode of church diſcipline, which is not made in a legal way.* Oh, but there are ſeveral methods to compaſs this legal way, by cunning, faction, induſtry. The common people, he knows, may be wrought upon by prieſts; theſe may influence the faction, and ſo compaſs a very pernicious law, and in a legal way ruin the ſtate; as king *Charles* I. began to be ruined in a legal way, by paſſing bills, *&c.*

Page 288. *As every thing is perſecution, which puts a man in a worſe condition than his neighbours.* It is hard to think ſometimes whether this man is hired to write for or againſt diſſenters and the ſects. This is their opinion, although they will not own it ſo roundly. Let this be brought to practice: Make a quaker lord chancellor, who thinketh paying tythes unlawful. And bring other inſtances to ſhew that ſeveral employments affect the church.

Ibid. *Great advantage which both church and ſtate have got by the kindneſs already ſhewn to diſſenters.* Let them then be thankful for that. We humour children for their good ſometimes, but too much may hurt. Obſerve, that this 64th paragraph juſt contradicts the former. For, if we have advantage by kindneſs ſhewn diſſenters, then there is no neceſſity of baniſhment, or death.

290. *Chriſt never deſigned the holy Sacrament ſhould be proſtituted to ſerve a party. And then people ſhould be bribed by a place to receive unworthily.* Why, the buſineſs is, to be ſure, that thoſe who are employed are of the national church; and the way to know it is, by receiving the ſacrament, which all men ought to do in their own church; and if not, are hardly fit for an office; and if they have thoſe moral qualifications he mentioneth, joined to religion, no fear of receiving unworthily. And for this there might be a remedy: To take an oath, that they are of the ſame principles, *&c.* for that is the end of receiving; and that it might be no bribe, the bill againſt occaſional conformity would prevent entirely.

Ibid. *Preferring men not for their capacity, but their zeal to the church.* The misfortune is, that if we pre-

fer diſſenters to great poſts, they will have an inclination to make themſelves the national church, and ſo there will be perpetual ſtruggling; which caſe may be dangerous to the ſtate: For men are naturally wiſhing to get over others to their own opinion: Witneſs this writer, who hath publiſhed as ſingular and abſurd notions as poſſible, yet hath a mighty zeal to bring us over to them, *&c.*

Page 292. Here are two pages of ſcurrilous faction, with a deal of reflexions on great perſons. Under the notion of high-churchmen, he runs down all uniformity and church-government. Here is the whole lower houſe of convocation, which repreſents the body of the clergy and both univerſities, treated with rudeneſs by an obſcure, corrupt member, while he is eating their bread.

Page 294. *The reaſon why the middle ſort of people retain ſo much of their antient virtue, &c. is becauſe no ſuch pernicious notions are the ingredients of their education; which 'tis a ſign are infinitely abſurd, when ſo many of the gentry and nobility can, notwithſtanding their prepoſſeſſion, get clear of them.* Now, the very ſame argument lies againſt religion, morality, honour, and honeſty, which are, it ſeems, but prejudices of education, and too many get clear of them. The middle ſort of people have other things to mind than the factions of the age. He always aſſigneth many cauſes, and ſometimes with reaſon, ſince he maketh imaginary effects. He quarrels at power being lodged in the clergy: When there is no reaſonable proteſtant, clergy or laity, who will not readily own the inconveniencies by too great power and wealth, in any one body of men, eccleſiaſtics, or ſeculars: But on that account to weed up the wheat with the tares; to baniſh all religion, becauſe it is capable of being corrupted; to give unbounded licence to all ſects, *&c.*—And if hereſies had not been uſed with ſome violence in the primitive age, we ſhould have had, inſtead of true religion, the moſt corrupt one in the world.

Page 316. *The* Dutch, *and the reſt of our preſbyterian allies, &c.* The *Dutch* will hardly thank him for this appellation. The *French* huguenots, and *Geneva* proteſtants

teſtants themſelves, and others, have lamented the want of epiſcopacy, and approved ours, *&c.* In this and the next paragraph, the author introduceth the arguments he formerly uſed, when he turned papiſt in King *James*'s time; and loth to loſe them, he gives them a new turn; and they are the ſtrongeſt in his book, at leaſt have moſt artifice.

Page 333. *Tis plain, all the power the biſhops have is derived from the people,* &c. In general the diſtinction lies here. The permiſſive power of exerciſing juriſdiction, lies in the people, or legiſlature, or adminiſtrator of a kingdom; but not of making him a biſhop. As a phyſician that commenceth abroad, may be ſuffered to practiſe in *London* or be hindered; but they have not the power of creating him a doctor, which is peculiar to an univerſity. This is ſome alluſion; but the thing is plain, as it ſeemeth to me, and wanteth no ſubterfuge, *&c.*

Page 338. *A journeyman biſhop to ordain for him.* Doth any man think, that writing at this rate, does the author's cauſe any ſervice? Is it his wit or his ſpleen that he cannot govern?

Page 364. *Can any have a right to an office without having a right to do thoſe things in which the office conſiſts?* I anſwer, the ordination is valid. But a man may prudentially forbid to do ſome things. As a clergyman may marry without licence or banns; the marriage is good; yet he is puniſhable for it.

Page 368. *A choice made by perſons who have no right to chuſe, is an error of the firſt concoction.* That battered ſimile again; this is hard. I wiſh the phyſicians had kept that a ſecret, it lieth ſo ready for him to be witty with.

Page 370. *If preſcription can make mere nullities to become good and valid, the laity may be capable of all manner of eccleſiaſtical power,* &c. There is a difference; for here the ſame way is kept, although there might be breaches; but it is quite otherways, if you alter the whole method from what it was at firſt. We ſee biſhops: There always were biſhops: It is the old way ſtill. So a family is ſtill held the ſame, although we are not ſure of the *purity of every* one of the race.

Page 380. *It is ſaid, That every nation is not a compleat body-politic within itſelf as to eccleſiaſticals. But the whole church, ſay they, compoſes ſuch a body, and Chriſt is the head of it. But Chriſt's headſhip makes Chriſtians no more one body-politic with reſpect to eccleſiaſticals than to civils.* Here we muſt ſhew the reaſon and neceſſity of the church being a corporation all over the world: To avoid hereſies, and preſerve fundamentals, and hinder corrupting of ſcripture, *&c.* But there are no ſuch neceſſities in government, to be the ſame every where, *&c.* It is ſomething like the colleges in an univerſity; they all are independent, yet joined, are one body. So a general council conſiſteth of many perſons independent of one another, *&c.*

However, there is ſuch a thing as *Jus gentium*, &c. And he that is doctor of phyſic, or law, is ſo in any univerſity in *Europe*, like the *Reſpublica literaria*. Nor to me does there ſeem any thing contradicting, or improper in this notion of the catholic church; and for want of ſuch a communion, religion is ſo much corrupted, and would be more, if there were [not] more communion in this than in civils. It is of no import to mankind how nations are governed; but the preſerving the purity of religion is beſt held up by endeavouring to make it one body over the world. Something like as there is in trade. So to be able to communicate with all chriſtians we come among, is at leaſt to be wiſhed and aimed at as much as we can.

Page 384. *In a word, if the biſhops are not ſupreme*, &c. Here he reaſſumeth his arguments for popery, that there cannot be a body-politic of the church through the whole world, without a viſible head to have recourſe to. Theſe were formerly writ to advance popery, and now to put an abſurdity upon the hypotheſis of a catholic church. As they ſay in *Ireland*, in King *James*'s time, they built maſs-houſes which we make very good barns of.

Page 388. *Biſhops are, under a premunire, obliged to confirm and conſecrate the perſon named in the* Conge d'elire. This perhaps is complained of. He is permitted to do it. We all allow the legiſlature may hinder, if they pleaſe;

pleaſe; as they may turn out chriſtianity, if they think fit.

Page 389. *It is the magiſtrate who impowers them to do more for other biſhops than they can for themſelves, ſince they cannot appoint their own ſucceſſors.* Yes they could, if the magiſtrate would let them. Here is an endleſs ſplutter, and a parcel of perplexed diſtinctions upon no occaſion. All that the clergy pretend to, is a right of qualifying men for the miniſtry, ſomething like what an univerſity doth with degrees. This power they claim from God, and that the civil power cannot do it as pleaſing to God without them; but they may chuſe whether they will ſuffer it or no. A religion cannot be crammed down a nation's throat againſt their will; but when they receive a religion, it is ſuppoſed they receive it as their converters give it; and, upon that foot, they cannot juſtly mingle their own methods, that contradict that religion, *&c.*

Page 390. *With us the biſhops act only miniſterially and by virtue of the regal commiſſion, by which the prince firmly enjoins and commands them to proceed in chuſing, confirming, and conſecrating,* &c. Suppoſe we held it unlawful to do ſo: How can we help it? But does that make it rightful, if it be not ſo? Suppoſe the author lived in a heathen country, where a law would be made to call chriſtianity idolatrous; would that be a topic for him to prove it ſo by, *&c.* And why do the clergy incur a premunire;— To frighten them——Becauſe the law underſtandeth, that, if they refuſe, the choſen cannot be a biſhop: But, if the clergy had an order to do it otherwiſe than they have preſcribed, they ought and would incur an hundred rather.

Page 402. *I believe the catholic church,* &c. Here he ridiculesthe Apoſtles creed.—Another part of his ſcheme. By what he ſays in theſe pages, it is certain, his deſign is either to run down chriſtianity, or ſet up popery; the latter it is more charitable to think, and, from his paſt life, highly probable.

Page 405. *That which gave the papiſts ſo great advantage was, clergymens talking ſo very inconſiſtent with themſelves,* &c. State the difference here between our ſeparation from *Rome*, and the diſſenters from us, and

ſhew the falſeneſs of what he ſaith. I wiſh he would tell us what he leaveth for a clergyman to do, if he may not inſtruct the people in religion, and if they ſhould not receive his inſtructions.

Page 411. *The reſtraint of the preſs a badge of popery.* Why is that a badge of popery? Why not reſtrain the preſs to thoſe who would confound religion, as in civil matters. But this toucheth himſelf. He would ſtarve perhaps, *&c.* Let him get ſome honeſter livelihood then. It is plain, all his arguments againſt conſtraint, *&c.* favour the papiſts as much as diſſenters; for both have opinions that may affect the peace of the ſtate.

Page 413. *Since this diſcourſe,* &c. And muſt we have another volume on this one ſubject of independency? Or, is it to fright us? I am not of Dr *Hickes*'s mind, *Qu'il venge.* I pity the readers, and the clergy that muſt anſwer it, be it ever ſo inſipid. Reflect on his ſarcaſtic concluſion, *&c.*

A P

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

CRAFTSMAN

Of Dec. 12. 1730,

On a very intereſting Subject relative to

IRELAND.

To which is prefixed,

The CRAFTSMAN itſelf.

THE

CRAFTSMAN.

№. 232. SATURDAY, *Dec.* 12. 1730.

THE following article, which hath lately appeared in the news-papers, deſerveth our immediate conſideration, *viz.*

"They write from *Dublin*, that an officer from every "regiment in the *French* ſervice is arrived there, in "order to raiſe recruits for their reſpective corps; "which is not to be done in a clandeſtine manner, as "formerly, (when ſeveral perſons ſuffered death for it) "but publicly. Theſe gentlemen are to diſperſe them-"ſelves *into the ſeveral* counties, where they have the "*beſt intereſt*; and a field officer is to reſide conſtant-

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" ly at *Dublin* to hear all complaints, which may be " made by any of the recruits againſt their officers; " and alſo to prepare for ſending them off.——Count " BROGLIO hath been ſolliciting an order to this pur- " poſe, theſe two years."

When I firſt read this account in the public prints, I looked upon it as a common piece of falſe intelligence, and was in full expectation of ſeeing it contradicted in the next day's papers, according to frequent cuſtom; but having ſince heard it confidently affirmed to be true, (although I can hardly yet believe it; eſpecially, as to every part) the duty which I owe my country, and my zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, oblige me to take ſome notice of an affair, which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be neceſſary, in the firſt place, to give the reader a ſhort account of the nature of theſe troops, as they are now eſtabliſhed in *France*.

They conſiſt, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horſe, and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered; ſo that they are of themſelves a very conſiderable body of men.

But their number is the leaſt point to be conſidered in this affair. There are other circumſtances, which render theſe troops infinitely more formidable to *Great Britain*. They are not only all Roman Catholics, but the moſt dangerous of that communion, with reſpect to us, I mean Roman Catholic ſubjects of our own dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country on account of rebellions and conſpiracies, in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted by inclination, by intereſt, by conſcience, by every motive human and divine, to the ſervice of the Pretender, in oppoſition to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his Majeſty's royal family.

To this we may add, that they are generally eſteemed the beſt forces in the *French* ſervice; that they have always behaved themſelves as ſuch in the late wars; and are commanded by officers of approved courage, as well as great ſkill and experience in military affairs.

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It is ſaid likewiſe, that the ſerjeants, corporals, and private men are ſo well ſeaſoned to danger, and expert in their duty, that, by a gradual promotion, they could furniſh officers for a very formidable army, in caſe of any ſudden invaſion or inſurrection.

In the next place, it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony, by act of parliament in *Ireland*, for any ſubject of that kingdom to inliſt himſelf, or to inliſt others, in the ſervice of any foreign ſtate; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have ſuffered death upon that account.

We know it may be ſaid, that a power is reſerved to his Majeſty, by a clauſe in that act, to diſpenſe with it, by granting any foreign prince a licence to raiſe forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his ſubjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to diſpute any of his Majeſty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wiſdom of the legiſlature in queſtion, yet I muſt take the liberty to obſerve, that ſuch powers have been ſometimes granted out of complaiſance to the crown, that the prince's hands may not be abſolutely tyed up, and in full confidence that they will never be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or poſſibly of ſome proteſtant ally, upon great emergencies of ſtate. The exerciſe of the prerogative, in theſe caſes, is therefore merely a prudential part, which is left to the diſcretion of the prince and his miniſters, who ought always to be ſuppoſed the beſt judges of theſe affairs; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to ſend to the attorney-general for his opinion in ſuch a caſe, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the affair be actionable or not; but miniſters ought to regulate their conduct, in theſe reſpects, according to the ſituation of affairs, and the exigencies of government.

I muſt therefore beg leave to conſider the preſent ſubject of the *Iriſh* forces, in this light.

It will not be denied, I preſume, that a licence to recruit Roman Catholic regiments of *Engliſh* ſubjects, in foreign ſervice, and in the intereſt of a pretender to

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the crown, (which is death by the law, without his Majeſty's permiſſion) is a favour of a very extraordinary nature, and ought to be attended with ſome extraordinary circumſtances. I confeſs that I can ſee no ſuch extraordinary circumſtances at preſent; unleſs it ſhould be ſaid that this favour was granted, in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of *Dunkirk*; but I hope they have more generoſity than to inſiſt upon ſuch hard terms for the effectual performance of that, which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am ſure, ſuch conditions ſeem unreaſonable on our part, after we have made them ſo many other conceſſions; particularly with relation to the flag and Santa Lucia; which, I think, are ſufficient to make them comply with all our demands, without expecting any farther favours, and even ſupererogations of friendſhip.

Perhaps my adverſaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this ſtrain; but as it ſometimes ſerveth their turn to make me a great man, and to argue againſt me as ſuch, I will for once ſuppoſe myſelf ſo; and, methinks, if I had the honour of being but half an hour in that ſtation, I could reaſon againſt ſuch an order, for the good of my king and my country, in the following manner:

1. Theſe troops have always been made uſe of, whenever there hath been any attempt in favour of the pretender; and indeed they are, upon many accounts, the fitteſt for this purpoſe. They are our fellow-ſubjects; they ſpeak our language; are acquainted with our manners; and do not raiſe that averſion in the people, which they naturally conceive againſt other foreign troops, who underſtand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this purpoſe, in entire regiments, without ſuffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known, at leaſt, that they ſupplied the late King JAMES with a nurſery of ſoldiers, who were always ready for his ſervice, whenever any opportunity offered itſelf for his reſtoration; and that, at this time, the Pretender is always the bait made uſe of by their officers to raiſe recruits. They never mention *the King of France*, or the King of *Spain*, upon

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theſe occaſions; but liſt the poor wretches under an aſſurance, that they are entered into the ſervice of him, whom they call their natural and rightful king. I will not ſuſpect the preſent fidelity of *France*, and their cordiality to the proteſtant eſtabliſhment; yet methinks we might eaſily excuſe ourſelves from furniſhing them with inſtruments, which they may employ againſt us, whenever ambition, or reaſons of ſtate, ſhall diſſolve their preſent engagements, and induce them to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his Catholic Majeſty (who hath likewiſe ſeveral regiments of this kind in his ſervice) will expect the ſame favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in caſe of refuſal, make it a pretence, at any time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and diſturbing us again in the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*. And here it is proper juſt to take notice, that theſe troops did his Catholic Majeſty the moſt eminent ſervice in the laſt ſiege of that important place. He may complain, perhaps, of our partiality to *France*, and alledge, that we do not treat *Spain* in the ſame manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the moſt favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of *Ireland* ſeemeth, at this time, in a very ill condition to admit of any ſuch draughts out of her dominions. She hath been already ſo much exhauſted by the voluntary tranſportation of multitudes of her inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to ſeek their bread in other parts of the world) that the interpoſition of parliament was found neceſſary to put a ſtop to it; and ſhall we ſuffer any foreign power to drain her ſtill farther under ſuch circumſtances; eſpecially in this manner, and for this purpoſe? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confeſſed, I think, that they want above two thouſand men to compleat their corps; and who knoweth but they may deſign to raiſe a great many more than they care to own; or even to form ſome new regiments of theſe troops? But ſuppoſing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that Ireland were *in a capacity to ſpare* them; it is well known

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how eaſily ſuch limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commiſſion. This was ſufficiently explained in the late famous controverſy, concerning Mr * Wood's patent for ſupplying *Ireland* with a particular ſum of copper half-pence; and the arguments upon that ſubject may be applied to this, with ſome allowances for the difference between the two caſes. It may, perhaps, be ſaid likewiſe, that all the vigilance of the miniſtry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from clandeſtinely recruiting theſe regiments with *Iriſh* Catholics; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our intereſt to let them purge *Ireland* of her popiſh inhabitants as much as they pleaſe; but I deny this for ſeveral reaſons, which I ſhall mention preſently; and if it were really the caſe, that the *French* can at any time recruit theſe troops clandeſtinely, I cannot ſee any reaſon why they ſhould ſollicit an order ſo preſſingly, for two years together, to do it openly, unleſs they have ſome other deſign. Ought not even this conſideration to put us a little upon our guard; and is it not a tacit confeſſion, that theſe troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wiſh? Beſides, are we to licence and authoriſe a miſchievous practice, becauſe we cannot totally prevent it? Every one juſtly applauded his Majeſty's ſingular firmneſs and reſolution in ſupporting the rights of his *German* ſubjects, when an attempt was made to ſeduce ſome of them into the King of *Pruſſia*'s ſervice, although perhaps it is impoſſible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the inliſting a miller's ſon, and a few other ordinary peaſants, occaſioned ſuch a miſunderſtanding between the two crowns, as proceeded almoſt to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the *Engliſh* parliament backward on this occaſion; but, on this conſideration, amongſt others, reſolved to keep up a body of 12,000 *Heſſian* troops in our pay, which have already coſt us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the ſame paternal care will always influence his Majeſty to guard and protect his *Britiſh* ſubjects

* See the Drapier's Letters.

ects in the ſame manner; and, if any meaſure ſhould be taken, which favours too much of the *French* intereſt, and ſeemeth of dangerous conſequence to the intereſt of his family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful repreſentations of thoſe, who ly under ſuch particular obligations to the court of *France*, that they can refuſe them nothing.

Such a licence ſeemeth to give encouragement to the people of *Ireland* to continue Roman Catholics, ſince they are ſure to meet with a proviſion both in the *French* and *Spaniſh* ſervice; whereas we always reject them in our troops, and abſolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, although it may not be ſafe to truſt them in our armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the leaſt encouragement to their entering into foreign ſervice; eſpecially into ſuch compact bodies as theſe regiments. And here it will not be amiſs to relate a ſtory much more to the honour of an *Engliſh* nobleman, who hath alſo one of the largeſt eſtates in *Ireland* of any man in the kingdom. When he went to viſit the invalids in *France*, a place in the nature of our *Chelſea* college here, all the *Iriſh* officers and ſoldiers of that hoſpital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no queſtion that their chief view was to have ſome preſent from his lordſhip; but though he hath an heart as well diſpoſed to generous charity as any man, and a purſe well able to anſwer the dictates of it; yet out of regard to his country, for which he hath likewiſe the moſt diſintereſted zeal, his anſwer to them was only this: "Gentlemen, I am very ſenſible of the honour you have "done me, and heartily pity your misfortunes; but as "you have drawn them upon yourſelves, by ſerving "againſt your country, you muſt not expect any re"lief or reward from me, for having ſuffered in a ſer"vice, in which I wiſh you had never engaged."

5. Is there not ſome reaſon to apprehend that this licence may, at one time or other, prove a ſnare to that country, and draw many people into their deſtruction; for, unleſs it is made perpetual, can it be ſuppoſed that all the poor ignorant wretches in the kingdom ſhould be apprized how long this licence is to be in

force? or when they may liſt with impunity, and when they may not? Beſides, as it may be preſumed that theſe officers will never go, for the future, upon ſuch errands, without ſome pretended orders, when the real one is expired; ſo they will find it no difficult matter to impoſe ſuch a counterfeit upon illiterate people, who may thus incur the penalties of the law, without knowing any thing of the matter. Such a method of providing for perſons, whoſe principles render them unſerviceable in our army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late * project for preventing *Iriſh* children from being ſtarved, by fatting them up, and ſelling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that theſe troops have been made uſe of, in parliament, as an argument for keeping up a ſtanding army in *England*; and I think we need not take any meaſures to render that argument ſtronger. God knows, there are too many arguments always ready upon ſuch occaſions.

I might inſiſt upon ſome other points, which this affair naturally ſuggeſteth to a conſidering mind; particularly, the danger of ſuffering ſeveral bigotted *Iriſh* papiſts in foreign ſervice, to diſperſe themſelves into thoſe counties where they have the beſt intereſt, and to ſtrole about *Ireland* amongſt their relations and old acquaintance, of the ſame principles with themſelves. Are we ſure that they will not make a bad uſe of this liberty by inquiring into the ſtrength of their party, by giving them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert meaſures for the advantage of their cauſe? Have we no reaſon to apprehend that they may endeavour to raiſe ſeamen as well as ſoldiers, under colour of this order? Or engage great numbers of their countrymen to tranſport themſelves over to the *French* colonies and plantations in the *Weſt Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading intereſt of *Great Britain* in thoſe parts?

But whatever may be the motives to ſuch an extraordinary favour, or the conſequences of it, I am ſure it is the ſtrongeſt mark of our confidence in *France*, and ſuch an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon

* See Vol. III. of the author's works.

upon any occaſion. I will illuſtrate this by a parallel caſe.

The *French* proteſtants, who fled over hither from a perſecution on account of religion, never diſcovered any principles, which were incompatible with the civil government of *France*, nor ever ſet up any Pretender to the preſent royal family of that kingdom; and yet, if we ſhould think fit to form any conſiderable number of them into compleat diſtinct regiments, to be compoſed of *French* proteſtants only, and commanded by *French* officers, without any incorporation of *Britiſh* ſoldiers, I fancy it would give our good allies ſome umbrage. But I am almoſt confident, that they would never permit us to ſend over a proteſtant *French* officer from every regiment to recruit their reſpective corps, by diſperſing themſelves into thoſe provinces where they have the beſt intereſt; or ſuffer a field officer, in *Engliſh* pay, to reſide conſtantly in *Paris*, and exerciſe a ſort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I ſay, they would hardly ſuffer this, even though our ambaſſador ſhould ſollicit ſuch an order, with the utmoſt application, for twenty years together.

And yet the caſe of the *Iriſh* forces is much ſtronger with reſpect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion, but hold principles abſolutely deſtructive of our civil government; and are generally looked upon abroad as a ſtanding army, kept on foot to ſerve the Pretender upon any occaſion.

I muſt aſk a queſtion or two, which naturally offer themſelves in this place.

What power is this field officer to exerciſe during his reſidence in *Dublin?* Is the *French* martial law to take place, if any of theſe recruits ſhould happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to deſert?

Troops are generally armed as ſoon as they are liſted. Is this rule to be obſerved in the preſent caſe? If ſo, another queſtion occurreth. It hath been found neceſſary, for the ſecurity of *Ireland*, to reſtrain all Roman Catholics from wearing, or keeping any arms in their houſes. I aſk, therefore, whether the authority of this licence is to ſuperſede the laws of the land? I may go farther.

The garriſon of *Dublin* ſeldom conſiſteth of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Suppoſing double that number of popiſh recruits ſhould be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their field-officer, will it be ſaid that there is no juſt apprehenſion of danger? but as theſe ſuggeſtions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of *France* (a caſe not to be ſuppoſed at preſent) I preſs them no farther.

I muſt however repeat it, that this order is the fulleſt demonſtration of the confidence we repoſe in them: and I hope they will ſcorn to make any bad uſe of it: But if it were poſſible to ſuſpect that they could have any deſign to play the knave with us, they could not wiſh for a better opportunity to promote it, than by ſuch a power as is now ſaid to be put into their hands.

I hope, my remarks on this article of news will not be conſtrued in a *Jacobite* ſenſe, even by the moſt proſtitute ſcribblers of the preſent times; but I muſt beg leave to expoſtulate a little with the public on that mean, infamous practice, which theſe writers have lately uſed, in explaining ſome of my papers into treaſonable libels; taking an occaſion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down, as a point granted, that there is an actual, concerted deſign of ſetting aſide the preſent eſtabliſhment. This is a practice which may be of great ſervice to the real enemies of the preſent government; and every *Jacobite* in the kingdom may make uſe of it to publiſh the moſt explicit invectives on the King and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit deſign of other writings. It is a practice, which was never allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the ſecret meaning of any author, ſuch explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds, and are puniſhable by the laws, without any extraordinary methods of conſtruction. Theſe writers ought to remember the caſe of Sir RICHARD STEELE, who publiſhed the Pretender's declaration, at the beginning of the late reign, with an anſwer annexed; and although he did it with a very good deſign, yet it was univerſally allowed to be *contrary to law*; and, if his principles of loyalty had

not

not been very well known, might have involved him in a ſevere proſecution. I ſhall make no reflexions on thoſe, who encouraged ſuch explanations; and thoſe who are hired to do it are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common places of ſervile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by ſuch nauſeous, diſhoneſt adulation, as, I am ſure, gives the moſt offence to thoſe perſons, to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they pleaſe. Let them charge me with deſigns, which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot juſtly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knoweth my heart, I am as zealous for the welfare of the preſent royal family as the moſt ſordid of theſe ſycophants. I am ſenſible, that our happineſs dependeth on the ſecurity of his Majeſty's title, and the preſervation of the preſent government, upon thoſe principles, which eſtabliſhed them at the late glorious revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the conduct of *Britons* to the lateſt generations. Theſe have always been my principles; and whoever will give himſelf the trouble of looking over the courſe of theſe papers, will be convinced that they have been my guide: But I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old man, who am not afraid to ſpeak the truth; and as I have no reliſh for flattery myſelf, I ſcorn to beſtow it on others. I have not, however, been ſparing of juſt praiſe, nor ſlipt any ſeaſonable opportunity to diſtinguiſh the royal virtues of their preſent Majeſties*. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my expreſſions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpoliſhed for the climate of a court; but they flowed purely from the ſincerity of my heart; and the freedom of my writings hath proceeded from my zeal for the intereſt of my king and country.

With regard to my adverſaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge, whether, even in private life, that man is not moſt to be depended upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend, never loadeth him with fulſome flatteries, but takes the honeſt liberty of warning him againſt the

* *King* GEORGE II. and Queen CAROLINE his Conſort.

meaſures of thoſe who are endeavouring to miſlead him. The caſe is much ſtronger in public life; and a crown is beſet with ſo many difficulties, that even a prince of the moſt conſummate wiſdom is not always ſufficiently guarded againſt the dangers which ſurround him, from the ſtratagems of artful miniſters, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad miniſters, and purſue the ſame methods of ſupporting themſelves, by flattering him into meaſures which tend to his deſtruction.

But it is time to draw to a concluſion; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged, in any deſign, contrary to the intereſt of the preſent eſtabliſhment, I ſhould have ſat down contented, and ſecretly rejoiced at the affair, which occaſioned this paper, inſtead of giving myſelf and the reader ſo much trouble. *C. D.*

THE

THE

ANSWER

TO THE

CRAFTSMAN.

SIR,

I DETEST reading your papers, becauſe I am not of your principles, and becauſe I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruſe your CRAFTSMAN of *December* the 12th, wherein I diſcover you to be as great an enemy of this country, as you are of your own. You are pleaſed to reflect on a project I propoſed of making the children of *Iriſh* parents to be uſeful to the public inſtead of being burthenſome; and you venture to aſſert, that your own ſcheme is more charitable, of not permitting our popiſh natives to be liſted in the ſervice of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, Sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom ſo unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a ſort of goods, of no intrinſic value, which it coſteth us above forty thouſand pounds a-year to dreſs, and ſcour, and poliſh, which altogether do not yield one penny advantage; and we annually export above ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a-year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one ſingle farthing in return: Even the money paid for letters ſent in tranſacting this commerce being all returned to *England*. But now, when there is a moſt lucky

opportunity

opportunity offered to begin a trade, whereby this nation will ſave many thouſand pounds a-year, and *England* be a prodigious gainer, you are pleaſed, without a call, officiouſly and maliciouſly to interpoſe with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known, that, about ſixty years ago, the exportation of live cattle from hence to *England* was of great benefit to both kingdoms, until that branch of traffick was ſtopt by an act of parliament on your ſide, whereof you have ſufficient reaſon to repent. Upon which account, when another act paſſed your parliament, forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were ſo wiſe to put in a clauſe, allowing it to be done by his Majeſty's permiſſion, under his ſign-manual, for which, among other great benefits granted to *Ireland*, we are infinitely obliged to the *Britiſh* legiſlature. Yet this very grace and favour you, Mr. D'ANVER, whom we never diſobliged, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to ſay, is a manifeſt mark of your diſaffection to his Majeſty, a want of duty to the miniſtry, and a wicked deſign of oppreſſing this kingdom, and a traiterous attempt to leſſen the trade and manufactures of *England*.

Our trueſt and beſt ally the Moſt Chriſtian King hath obtained his Majeſty's licence, purſuant to law, to export from hence ſome thouſand bodies of healthy, young living men, to ſupply his *Iriſh* regiments. The king of *Spain*, as you aſſert yourſelf, hath deſired the ſame civility, and ſeemeth to have at leaſt as good a claim; ſuppoſing then that theſe two potentates will only deſire leave to carry off ſix thouſand men between them to *France* and *Spain*, then by computing the maintenance of a tall, hungry, *Iriſh* man, in food and cloaths, to be only at five pounds a-head, here will be thirty thouſand pounds *per annum* ſaved clear to the nation, for they can find no other employment at home beſides begging, robbing, or ſtealing. But, if thirty, forty, or fifty thouſand, (which we could gladly ſpare) were ſent on the ſame errand, what an immenſe benefit it *muſt* be to us? And, if the two princes, in whoſe ſervice they were, ſhould happen to be at war with each other, how ſoon would thoſe recruits be deſtroyed, then

what

what a number of friends would the Pretender loſe, and what a number of popiſh enemies all true proteſtants get rid of? Add to this, that then by ſuch a practice the lands of *Ireland*, that want hands for tillage, muſt be employed in grazing, which would ſink the price of wool, raw hides, butter, and tallow, ſo that the *Engliſh* might have them at their own rates; and in return ſend us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horſes, without any labour of our own.

Upon this occaſion, I deſire humbly to offer a ſcheme, which, in my opinion, would beſt anſwer the true intereſts of both kingdoms: For, although I bear a moſt tender filial affection for *England*, my dear native country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble iſland hath a great ſhare in my love and eſteem, nor can I expreſs how much I deſire to ſee it flouriſh in trade and opulence, even beyond its preſent happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, uſually computed at ſeventeen millions of acres, all which I propoſe to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage two thouſand acres. Thus, ſixteeen millions eight hundred thouſand acres may be managed by eight thouſand four hundred families, and the fraction of two hundred thouſand acres will be more than ſufficient for cabbins, out-houſes, and potatoe-gardens; becauſe, it is to be underſtood, that corn of all ſorts muſt be ſent to us from *England*.

Theſe eight thouſand four hundred families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houſes in each province; and, making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to ſixty-ſeven thouſand two hundred ſouls; to theſe we are to add a ſtanding army of twenty thouſand *Engliſh*, which, together with their trulls, their baſtards, and their horſe-boys, will, by a groſs computation, very near double the count, and be very ſufficient for the defence and grazing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the Pretender. And leſt the army ſhould be *at a loſs for buſineſs*, I think it would be very

prudent

prudent to employ them in collecting the publick taxes for paying themſelves and the civil liſt.

I adviſe, that all our owners of theſe lands ſhould live conſtantly in *England*, in order to learn politeneſs, and qualify themſelves for employments: But, for fear of increaſing the natives in this iſland, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever prince will bear the carriage; or tranſplanted to the *Engliſh* dominions on the *American* continent, as a ſcreen between his Majeſty's *Engliſh* ſubjects and the ſavage *Indians*.

I adviſe likewiſe, that no commodity whatſoever, of this nation's growth, ſhould be ſent to any other country, except *England*, under the penalty of high treaſon; and that all the ſaid commodities ſhall be ſent in their natural ſtate, the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the ſtub; excepting only fiſh, butter, tallow, and whatever elſe will be ſpoiled in the carriage. On the contrary, that no goods whatſoever ſhall be imported hither, except from *England*, under the ſame penalty: That *England* ſhould be forced, at their own rates, to ſend us over cloaths ready made, as well as ſhirts and ſmocks to the ſoldiers and their trulls; all iron, wooden, and earthen ware; and whatever furniture may be neceſſary for the cabbins of graziers, with a ſufficient quantity of gin, and other ſpirits, for thoſe who can afford to get drunk on holydays.

As to the civil and eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, which I have not yet fully conſidered, I can ſay little; only with regard to the latter, it is plain, that the article of paying tythe for ſupporting ſpeculative opinions in religion, which is ſo inſupportable a burthen to all true proteſtants, and to moſt churchmen, will be very much leſſened by this expedient; becauſe dry cattle pay nothing to the ſpiritual hireling, any more than imported corn; ſo that the induſtrious ſhepherd and cowherd may ſit, every man under his own blackberry buſh, and on his own potatoe-bed, where this happy iſland will become a new *Arcadia*.

I do likewiſe propoſe, that no money ſhall be uſed in *Ireland*, except what is made of leather, which likewiſe *ſhall* be coined in *England*, and imported; and that the

taxes

taxes ſhall be levied out of the commodities we export for *England*, and there turned into money for his Majeſty's uſe; and the rents to landlords diſcharged in the ſame manner. This will be no manner of grievance, for we already ſee it very practicable to live without money, and ſhall be more convinced of it every day. But whether paper ſhall continue to ſupply that defect, or whether we ſhall hang up all thoſe who profeſs the trade of bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to) muſt be left to the conſideration of wiſer politicians.

That which maketh me more zealouſly bent upon this ſcheme is, my deſire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tried all other means, without effect, to that bleſſed end: And, by the courſe of meaſures taken for ſome years paſt, it ſhould ſeem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon ſeveral accounts: For, as to *England*, they have a juſt claim to the balance of trade on their ſide with the whole world; and therefore our anceſtors and we, who conquered this kingdom for them, ought, in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conqueſt to themſelves; eſpecially, when the conqueſt was amicably made, without bloodſhed, by ſtipulation between the *Iriſh* princes and *Henry* II. by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of *Germany* do to the emperor, but very near the ſame that he did to the king of *France* for his *French* dominions.

In conſequence of this claim from *England*, that kingdom may very reaſonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a ſufficient quantity of them for our uſe to be returned hither fully manufactured.

This, on the other ſide, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers, when time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, ſhearing their ſheep, and ſending over their oxen fit for ſlaughter; to which employments they are turned by nature, as deſcended from the Scythians,

thians, whoſe diet they are ſtill ſo fond of. So *Virgil* deſcribeth it:

Et lac concretum cum ſanguine bibit equino.

Which, in *Engliſh*, is Bonnyclabber *, mingled with the blood of horſes, as they formerly did, until about the beginning of the laſt century, when luxury, under the form of politeneſs, began to creep in, they changed the blood of horſes for that of their black cattle; and, by conſequence, became leſs warlike than their anceſtors.

Although I propoſed that the army ſhould be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that thoſe taxes ſhould be paid in gold or ſilver; but in kind, as all other rent. For the cuſtom of tenants making their payments in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practiſed in any nation at preſent, except this iſland, and the Southern parts of *Britain*. But, to my great ſatisfaction, I foreſee better times; the ancient manner beginneth to be now practiſed in many parts of *Connaught*, as well as in the county of *Corke*, where the 'Squires turn tenants to themſelves, divide ſo many cattle to their ſlaves, who are to provide ſuch a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, ſtill keeping up their number of cattle; and carry the goods to *Corke*, or other port towns, and then ſell them to merchants. By which invention there is no ſuch thing as a ruined farmer to be ſeen; but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

* Thick, ſour milk.

THE

THE

MEMOIRS

OF

Capt. JOHN CREICHTON;

From his own MATERIALS,

Drawn up and digeſted by

Dr J. SWIFT, D. S. P. D.

First printed in the Year 1731.

The PRINTER's ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN Dr *Swift* was at Sir *Arthur Acheſon*'s at *Markethill* in the county of *Armagh*, an old gentleman was recommended to him, as being a remarkable cavalier in the reigns of *Charles* II. *James* II. and *William* III. who had behaved with great loyalty and bravery in *Scotland* during the troubles of thoſe reigns, but was neglected by the government, although he deſerved great rewards from it. As he was reduced in his circumſtances, Dr *Swift* made him a handſome preſent; but ſaid at the ſame time, "Sir, this trifle cannot ſupport you "long, and your friends may grow tired of "you; therefore I would have you con- "trive ſome honeſt means of getting a ſum "of money, ſufficient to put you into a way "of life of ſupporting yourſelf with inde- "pendency in your old age." To which Captain *Creichton* (for that was the gentleman's name) anſwered, "I have tired all my "friends, and cannot expect any ſuch extra- "ordinary favours." Then Dr *Swift* replied, "Sir, I have heard much of your ad- "ventures; that they are freſh in your me- "mory; that you can tell them with great "humour; and that you have taken memo- "randums of them in writing." To which the

the Captain ſaid, " I have ; but no one can " underſtand them but myſelf." Then Dr *Swift* rejoined, " Sir, get your manuſcripts, " read them to me, and tell me none but " genuine ſtories, and then I will place them " in order for you, prepare them for the " preſs, and endeavour to get you a ſub- " ſcription among my friends, as you may " do among your own." The Captain, ſoon after, waited on the Dean with his papers, and related many adventures to him ; which the Dean was ſo kind as to put in order of time, to correct the ſtyle, and make a ſmall book of, intituled, *The* MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN JOHN CREICHTON. A ſubſcription was immediately ſet on foot, by the Dean's intereſt and recommendation, which raiſed for the Captain above two hundred pounds, and made the remaining part of his life very happy and eaſy.

TO THE

READER.

THE author of these memoirs, Capt. *John Creichton*, is still alive, and resides in the northern part of this kingdom. He is a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp; and, it is probable, that some of his principles will not relish very well in the present dispostion of the world. His memoirs are therefore to be received like a posthumous work, and as containing facts, which very few alive, except himself, can remember: Upon which account, none of his generous subscribers are, in the least, answerable for many opinions relating to the public, both in church and state, which he seems to justify; and, in the vindication of which, to the hazard of his life, and the loss of his fortune, he spent the most useful part of his days. Principles, as the world goes, are little more than Fashion; and the apostle tells us, that *the Fashion of this World passeth away*. We read with pleasure the memoirs of several authors, whose party we disapprove, if they be written with nature and truth. Curious men are desirous to see what can be said on both sides; and even the virulent flat relation of *Ludlow*, tho' written in the spirit of rage, prejudice, and vanity, doth not want its advocates. This inclines me to think, that the memoirs of Capt. *Creichton* may not be unacceptable to the curious of every party; because, from my knowledge of the man, and the testimony of several considerable persons, of different political denominations, I am confident, that he hath not inserted one passage or circumstance, which he did not know, or, from the best intelligence he could get, believed to be true.

These memoirs are therefore offered to the world in their native simplicity. And it was not with little difficulty, that the author was persuaded by his friends to *recollect* and put them in order, chiefly for his own *justification*, and partly by the importunity of several emi-

nent

nent gentlemen, who had a mind that they ſhould turn to ſome profit to the author.

The Captain having made over all his little eſtate to a beloved daughter, upon her marriage, on the condition of being entertained in her houſe for the ſmall remainder of his life, hath put it out of his own power, either to ſupply his incidental wants, to pay ſome long-contracted debts, or to gratify his generous nature in being further uſeful to his family; on which accounts, he deſires to return his moſt humble thanks to his worthy ſubſcribers; and hopes, they will conſider him no further than as an honeſt, well-meaning man, who, by his own perſonal courage and conduct, was able to diſtinguiſh himſelf, under many diſadvantages, to a degree, that few private lives have been attended with ſo many ſingular and extraordinary events.

Beſides the great ſimplicity in the ſtyle and manner of the author, it is a very valuable circumſtance, that his plain relation corrects many miſtaken paſſages in other hiſtorians, which have too long paſſed for truths; and whoever impartially compares both, will probably decide in the Captain's favour: For the memory of old men is ſeldom deceived, in what paſſed in their youth and vigour of age: And, if he hath, at any time, happened to be miſtaken in circumſtances of time or place, (with neither of which I can charge him) it was certainly againſt his will. Some of his own perſonal diſtreſſes and actions, which he hath related, might be almoſt the ſubject of a tragedy.

Upon the whole, comparing great things to ſmall, I know not any memoirs that more reſemble thoſe of *Philip de Comines* (which have received ſo univerſal approbation) than theſe of Capt. *Creichton*, which are told in a manner equally natural, and with equal appearance of truth, although, I confeſs, upon affairs in a more obſcure ſcene, and of leſs importance.

J. S.

MEMOIRS

OF

Capt. JOHN CREICHTON.

THE former part of my life having been attended with ſome paſſages and events, not very common to men of my private and obſcure condition, I have (perhaps induced by the talkativeneſs of old age) very freely and frequently communicated them to ſeveral worthy gentlemen, who were pleaſed to be my friends, and ſome of them my benefactors. Theſe perſons profeſſed themſelves to be ſo well entertained with my ſtory, that they often wiſhed it could be digeſted into order, and publiſhed to the world, believing that ſuch a treatiſe, by the variety of incidents, written in a plain unaffected ſtyle, might be, at leaſt, ſome *amuſement* to indifferent readers; of ſome *example* to thoſe who deſire ſtrictly to adhere to their duty and principles; and might ſerve to vindicate *my reputation* in *Scotland*, where I am well known; that kingdom having been the chief ſcene of my acting, and where I have been repreſented by a fanatic rebellious party, as a *perſecutor of the ſaints*, and a *man of blood*.

Having loſt the benefit of a thorough ſchool-education by a moſt indiſcreet marriage, in all *worldly views*, although to a very good woman; and, in conſequence thereof, being forced to ſeek my fortune in *Scotland* as a ſoldier, where I forgot all the little I had learned, the reader cannot reaſonably expect to be much pleaſed with my ſtyle, or method, or manner of relating: It is enough, if I never wilfully fail in point of truth, nor offend by *malice* or *partiality*. My memory, I thank God, is yet very perfect as to things long paſt, although, like an old man, I retain but little of what hath happened ſince I grew into years.

I am likewiſe very ſenſible of an infirmity in many *authors*, who write their own memoirs, and are apt to lay

lay too much weight upon *trifles*, which they are vain enough to conceive the world to be as much concerned in as themſelves; yet I remember that *Plutarch*, in his lives of great men, (which I have read in the *Engliſh* tranſlation) ſays, that the nature and diſpoſition of a man's mind may be often better diſcovered by a *ſmall circumſtance*, than by an action or event of the *greateſt importance*. And, beſides, it is not improbable that grey hairs may have brought upon me a *vanity*, to deſire that poſterity may know what manner of man I was.

I ly under another diſadvantage, and indeed a very great one, from the wonderful *change of opinions*, ſince I firſt made any appearance in the world. I was bred under the principles of the ſtricteſt *loyalty* to my prince, and in an exact conformity in *diſcipline*, as well as *doctrine*, to the *church* of *England*; which are neither altered nor ſhaken to this very day; and I am now too old to mend. However, my different ſentiments, ſince my laſt troubles after the revolution, have never had the leaſt influence either upon my actions or diſcourſe. I have ſubmitted myſelf with entire reſignation, according to St. *Paul*'s precept, *to the powers that be*. I converſe equally with all parties, and am equally favoured by all; and, God knows, it is now of little conſequence what my opinions are, under ſuch a weight of age and infirmities, with a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence, which, inſtead of *comforting*, will hardly *ſupport* me.

But there is another point, which requires a better *apology* than I am able to give: A judicious reader will be apt to cenſure me, and, I confeſs, with reaſon enough, as guilty of a very fooliſh *ſuperſtition* in relating my dreams, and how I was guided by them with ſucceſs, in diſcovering one or two principal *Covenanters*. I ſhall not eaſily allow myſelf to be, either by *nature* or *education*, more *ſuperſtitious* than other men; but I take the truth to be this: Being then full of *zeal* againſt *enthuſiaſtical Rebels*, and better informed of their lurking holes than moſt officers in the army, this made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on my mind, that it affected my dreams, when I was directed to the moſt probable places, almoſt as well as if I had been awake, being guided

guided in the night by the ſame *conjectures* I had made in the day. There could poſſibly be no more in the matter; and God forbid I ſhould pretend to a ſpirit of *divination*, which would make me reſemble thoſe very *hypocritical Saints*, whom it was both my *duty*, and *inclination*, to bring to juſtice, for their many horrid *blaſphemies* againſt *God*, *rebellions* againſt their *Prince*, and *barbarities* towards their *Countrymen* and *Fellow-Chriſtians*.

My great-grand-father, *Alexander Creichton*, of the houſe of *Dumfries* in *Scotland*, in a feud between the *Maxwells* and the *Johnſtons*, (the chief of the *Johnſtons* being the lord *Johnſton*, anceſtor of the preſent marquis of *Annandale*) ſiding with the latter, and having killed ſome of the former, was forced to fly into *Ireland*, where he ſettled near *Kinard*, then a woody country, and now called *Calidon*: But within a year or two, ſome friends and relations of thoſe *Maxwells* who had been killed in the feud, coming over to *Ireland*, to purſue their revenge, lay in wait for my grand-father in the wood, and ſhot him dead, as he was going to church. This accident happened about the time that *James* the ſixth of *Scotland* came to the crown of *England*.

Alexander, my great-grand-father, left two ſons, and as many daughters; his eldeſt ſon *John*, lived till a year or two after the rebellion in 1641. His houſe was the firſt in *Ulſter* ſet upon by the *Iriſh*, who took and impriſoned him at *Dungannon*; but, fortunately making his eſcape, he went to Sir *Robert Stuart*, who was then in arms for the king, and died in the ſervice.

This *John*, who was my grand-father, left two ſons, *Alexander* my father, and a younger ſon, likewiſe named *John*, who being a child but two or three years old at his father's death, was invited to *Scotland* by the lady *Drumfries*, there educated by her, and ſent to ſea: He made ſeveral voyages to and from *Barbadoes*, then ſettled in *Scotland*, where he died ſome time after the *Reſtoration*, leaving, beſide a daughter, one ſon, who, at my charges, was bred up a *Phyſician*, and proved ſo famous in his profeſſion, that he was ſent by her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*, to cure the King

of

of *Portugal* of the venereal diſeaſe. He had a thouſand pounds paid him in hand, before he began his journey; but when he arrived at *Lisbon*, the *Portugueze* council and phyſicians diſſuaded that king from truſting his perſon with a foreigner. However, his majeſty of *Portugal* ſhewed him ſeveral marks of his eſteem; and, at parting, preſented him with a very rich jewel, which he ſold afterwards for five hundred guineas. He ſtayed there not above ſix weeks; during which time, he got conſiderable practice. After living many years in *London*, where he grew very rich, he died *November* 1726, and, as it is believed, without making a will, which is very probable; becauſe, although he had no children, he left me no legacy, who was his *Couſin-german*, and had been his greateſt *benefactor*, by the care and expence of his education. Upon this matter, I muſt add one circumſtance more, how little ſignificant ſoever it may be to others. Mr. Archdeacon *Maurice* being at *London*, in order to his journey to *France*, on account of his health, went to viſit the doctor, and put him in mind of me, urging the obligations I had laid upon him. The doctor agreed to ſend me whatever ſum of money the *Archdeacon* ſhould think *reaſonable*, and deliver it to him on his return from his travels; but unfortunately the doctor died two or three days before the *Archdeacon* came back.

Alexander, my *father*, was about eighteen years old in 1641. The *Iriſh* rebellion then breaking out, he went to Captain *Gerard Irvin*, his relation, who was then Captain of horſe, and afterwards knighted by King *Charles* the ſecond. This gentleman having a party for the King, ſoon after joined with Sir *Robert Stuart* in the county of *Donegal*; where, in the courſe of thoſe troubles, they continued ſkirmiſhing, ſometimes with the *Iriſh Rebels*, and ſometimes with thoſe of the *Engliſh Parliament*, after the rebellion in *England* began; till at length Captain *Irvin*, and one Mr *Stuart*, were taken priſoners, and put in goal in *Derry*; which city was kept for the parliament againſt the King, by Sir *Charles Coote*. Here my father performed a very memorable and gallant action, in reſcuing his relation Captain *Irvin*, and Mr *Stuart*. I will relate this fact in all its

particulars,

particulars, not only becauſe it will do ſome *honour* to my *father's memory*, but likewiſe becauſe, for its boldneſs and ſucceſs, it ſeems to me very well to deſerve recording.

My father having received information, that Sir *Charles Coote*, governor of *Derry*, had publicly declared, that Captain *Irvin* and his *Companion*, ſhould be put to death within two or three days, communicated this intelligence to ſeven truſty friends, who all engaged to aſſiſt him, with the hazard of their *lives*, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them. They all agreed that my father, and three more, at the hour of ſix in the morning, when the weſt-gate ſtood open, and the draw-bridge was let down for the Governor's horſes to go out to water, ſhould ride in, one by one, after a manner as if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themſelves in a friend's houſe till night; at which time my father was to acquaint Captain *Irvin*, and his *fellow-priſoner* with their deſign, which was to this purpoſe: That, after concerting meaſures at the priſon, my father ſhould repair to a certain place on the city-wall, and give inſtructions to the four without, at twelve at night: Accordingly, next morning, at ſoon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town, and the ſame night having ſettled matters with the two gentlemen, that they ſhould be ready at ſix next morning, at which hour, he and his three friends ſhould call upon them; he then went to the wall, and directed the four, who were without, that as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the gate open and the bridge drawn, one of them ſhould walk up to the centry, and ſecure him from making any noiſe, by holding a piſtol to his breaſt; after which, the other three ſhould ride up, and ſecure the room where the by-guard lay, to prevent them from coming out: Moſt of the garriſon were in their beds, which encouraged my father, and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprize: Therefore preciſely at ſix o'clock, when the by-guard and centry at the weſtern-gate were ſecured by the four *without*, my father and the other three within being mounted on horſe-back, with one ſpare horſe, in the

habit

habit of town's-people, with cudgels in their hands, called at the goal-door, on pretence to ſpeak to Captain *Irvin* and Mr *Stuart*. They were both walking in a large room in the goal, with the goaler and three ſoldiers attending them; but theſe not ſuſpecting the perſons on horſeback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town, my father aſked Captain *Irvin*, whether he had any commands to a certain place, where he pretended to be going? the Captain made ſome anſwer, but ſaid they ſhould not go before they had drank with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the ſoldiers, to buy a bottle of ſack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewiſe ſome errand for another ſoldier, ſent him alſo out of the way; there being now none left to guard the priſoners but the goaler and the third ſoldier, Captain *Irvin* leapt over the hatch-door, and as the goaler lept after, my father knocked him down with his cudgel. While this was doing, Mr *Stuart* tript up the ſoldier's heels, and immediately leapt over the hatch. They both mounted, *Stuart* on the horſe behind my father, and *Irvin* on the ſpare one, and in a few minutes came up with their companions at the gate, before the main-guard could arrive, although it was kept within twenty yards of the goal-door.

I ſhould have obſerved, that as ſoon as Captain *Irvin* and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broad ſwords into their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and at the ſame time drawing their own, were all ſix determined to force their way againſt any who offered to obſtruct them in their paſſage; but the diſpatch was ſo ſudden, that they got clear out of the gate before the leaſt *oppoſition* could be made. They were no ſooner gone, than the town was alarmed: *Coote, the Governor*, got out of his bed, and ran into the ſtreets in his *ſhirt*, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in a great rage at the *accident*. The *Adventurers* met the Governor's groom, coming back with his maſter's horſes from watering; they ſeized the horſes, and got ſafe to Sir *Robert Stuart*'s, about four miles off, without loſing one drop of blood in this *hazardous enterprize*.

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This *gallant perſon* (if I may ſo preſume to call my *Father*) had above *twenty Children* by his wife *Anne Maxwell*, of the family of the earl of *Niddiſdale*, of whom I was the eldeſt; they all died young except myſelf, three other boys, and two girls; who lived to be men and women. My ſecond brother I took care to have educated at *Glaſgow*, but he was drowned at two-and-twenty years old, in a ſtorm, on his return to *Ireland*. The other two died Captains abroad, in the ſervice of King *William*.

I was born on the *eighth* day of *May* 1648, at *Caſtle-Fin* in the county of *Donegal*. I made ſome ſmall progreſs in learning at the ſchool of *Dungannon*; but when I was eighteen years old, I very inconſiderately married Mrs *Elizabeth Delgarno*, my ſchool-maſter's daughter, by whom I have had *thirteen Children*, who all died young, except two daughters, married to two brothers, *James* and *Charles Young* of the county of *Tyrone*.

Having been ſo very young when I married, I could think of no other courſe to advance my fortune, than by getting into the army. Captain *Irvin*, often mentioned already, had a brother who was a *Phyſician* at *Edinburg*, to whom he wrote in my favour, deſiring he would recommend me to the Marquis of *Atholl* and others, then at the head of affairs in *Scotland*; this was in the year 1674. There were then but one troop of horſe-guards, (whereof the Marquis was Colonel) and one regiment of foot-guards commanded by the Earl of *Linlithgow*, in that kingdom; and they conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen.

Dr *Irvin*, phyſician to the horſe-guards, accordingly preſented me to the Marquis of *Atholl*, requeſting that I might be received into his troop. His Lordſhip pretending there was no vacancy, was, by the doctor, threatened, in a free jeſting manner, with a doſe of poiſon, inſtead of phyſic, the firſt time he ſhould want his ſkill; *Weel, weel then*, quoth the Marquis, what is your friend's name? *Deel tak' me*, anſwered the doctor, *gin I ken*; whereupon I was called in, to write my name in the roll. I was then ordered to repair to the troop at *Sterling*, with directions to Lieutenant-colonel *Cockburn*, the commanding officer, to put me into

which

which of the four ſquadrons, whereof the troops conſiſted, he thought fit. He thereupon placed me in his own, and appointed me my quarters.

Soon after this, the *Conventicles* growing numerous in the weſt, ſeveral parties were drawn out to ſuppreſs them; among whom I never failed to make one, in hopes thereby to be taken notice of by my commanders, for I had nothing to recommend me, except my *activity*, *diligence*, and *courage*, being a ſtranger and born out of that kingdom.

My firſt action, after having been taken into the guards, was, with a dozen gentlemen more, to go in queſt of Mas *David Williamſon*, a noted *Covenanter*; ſince made more famous in the book called the *Scotch Presbyterian eloquence*. I had been aſſured, that this *Williamſon* did much frequent the houſe of my lady *Cherrytree*, within ten miles of *Edinburg*; but when I arrived firſt with my party about the houſe, the lady well knowing our errand, put *Williamſon* to bed to her *Daughter*, diſguiſed in a *Woman's Night-dreſs*. When the troopers went to ſearch in the young lady's room, her mother pretended that ſhe was not well; and *Williamſon* ſo managed the matter, that when the daughter raiſed herſelf a little in the bed, to let the troopers ſee her, they did not diſcover him, and ſo went off diſappointed. But the young lady proved with child; and *Williamſon*, to take off the ſcandal, married her in ſome time after. This *Williamſon* married five or ſix wives ſucceſſively, and was alive in the reign of Queen *Anne*; at which time, I ſaw him preaching in one of the *Kirks* at *Edinburg*. It is ſaid that King *Charles* the ſecond, hearing of *Williamſon*'s behaviour in lady *Cherytree's* houſe, wiſhed to ſee the man that diſcovered ſo much *vigour*, while his troopers were in *ſearch* of him: And, in a merry way, declared, that when he was in the *Royal-Oak*, he could not have kiſſed the *bonnieſt laſs in Chriſtendom*.

Some time after this, *Thomas Dalziel*, General of the forces in *Scotland*, an excellent ſoldier, who had been taken priſoner at the famous battle of *Worceſter*, and ſent priſoner to the *Tower*, eſcaping from thence into *Muſcovy*, was made General to the *Czar*; and return-

ing home, after the *Reſtoration*, was preferred, by the King, to be General of the forces in *Scotland*, in which poſt he continued till his death, which happened a little before the *Revolution*. This General commanded fifty of the foot-guards, with an Enſign, to accompany me, and to follow my directions, in the purſuit of a *notorious Rebel*, one *Adam Stobow*, a farmer in *Fife*, near *Colroſs*. This fellow had gone through the weſt, endeavouring to ſtir up ſedition in the people, by his great ſkill in *canting* and *praying*. There had been ſeveral parties ſent out after him, before I and my men undertook the buſineſs, but they could never diſcover him. We reached *Colroſs* at night, where I directed the Enſign, and all the men, to ſecure three or four *Rebels*, who were in the place, while I, with two or three of the ſoldiers to aſſiſt me, went to *Stobow's Houſe*, about a mile and a half from *Colroſs*, by break of day, for fear ſome of his friends might give him notice. Before I got to the houſe, I obſerved a *Kiln* in the way, which I ordered to be ſearched, becauſe I found there an heap of ſtraw in the paſſage, up to the *Kiln-pot*. There I found *Stobow* lurking, and carried him to *Colroſs*, although his daughter offered me an hundred *dollars* to let him go. We returned immediately to the General at *Edinburg*, with *Stobow* and the priſoners taken by the Enſign at *Colroſs*. They continued a while in confinement, but *Stobow*, at his trial, found friends enough to ſave his life, and was only baniſhed; yet he returned home a year after, and proved as troubleſome and ſeditious as ever, till at the fight of *Bothwell Bridge*, it was thought he was killed, for he was never heard of afterwards.

During the time I was in the guards, about two years after the affair of Mas *David Williamſon*, at the lady *Cherrytree's*, I was quartered with a party at *Bathgate*, which is a ſmall village, twelve miles from *Edinburg*. One Sunday morning, by break of day, I and my comrade, a gallant *Highland Gentleman*, of the name of *Grant*, went out diſguiſed in *grey coats* and *bonnets*, in ſeach after ſome *Conventicle*. We travelled on foot eight or ten miles into the wild mountains, where we *ſpied* three fellows on the top of an hill, whom we conjectured

jectured to ſtand there as ſpies, to give intelligence of a *Conventicle*, when any of the king's troopers ſhould happen to come that way. There they ſtood, with long poles in their hands, till I and my friend came pretty near, and then they turned to go down the hill. When we obſerved this, we took a little compaſs, and came up with them on the other ſide; whereupon they ſtood ſtill, leaning on their poles. Then I bounced forward upon one of them, and ſuddenly ſnatching the pole out of his hand, aſked him why he carried ſuch a pole on the Lord's day? and at the ſame time knocked him down with it. My comrade immediately ſeized on the ſecond, and laid him flat by a grip of his hair; but the third took to his heels, and ran down the hill. However, having left my friend to guard the two former, I overtook the laſt, and felled him likewiſe; but the place being ſteep, the violence with which I ran, carried me a good way down the hill, before I could recover myſelf, after the ſtroke I had given; and by the time I could get up again to the place where he lay, the rogue had got on his feet, and was fumbling for a ſide-piſtol, that hung at his belt, under his upper coat; which as ſoon as I obſerved, I fetched him to the ground a ſecond time with the pole, and ſeized on his piſtol; then leading him up to the other two, I deſired my friend to examine their pockets, and ſee whether they carried any powder or ball, but we found none.

We then led our priſoners down the hill, at the foot of which there was a bog, and on the other ſide a man ſitting on a rock; when we advanced near him, leaving our priſoners in the keeping of my friend, I ran up towards the man, who fled down on the other ſide. As ſoon as I had reached the top of the rock, there appeared a great number of people, aſſembled in a glin, to hear the preaching of Mas *John King*, as I underſtood afterward, whoſe voice was ſo loud, that it reached the ears of thoſe who were at the greateſt diſtance, which could not, I think, be leſs than a quarter of a mile; they all ſtanding before him, and the wind favouring the *ſtrength of his* lungs. When my friend *had brought the three* priſoners to the top of the rock,

where I waited for him, they all broke looſe, and ran down to the *Conventicle:* But my friend advancing within about forty yards of that rabble, commanded them in his Majeſty's name to depart to their own homes. Whereupon about forty of their number, with poles in their hands, drew out from the reſt, and advanced againſt us two, who had the *courage*, or rather the *temerity*, to face ſo great a company, which could not be fewer than a thouſand. As this party of theirs was preparing with their long poles to attack me and my friend, it happened very luckily, that a fine *gelding*, ſadled and bridled, with a pillion likewiſe upon him, came up near us, in ſearch for better graſs; I caught the horſe, and immediately mounted him, which the reſt of the *Conventiclers* obſerving, they broke up and followed as faſt as they could, ſome on horſeback, and the reſt on foot, to prevent me from going off with the horſe; but I put him to the gallop, and ſuffering him to chuſe his own way through the mountain, which was full of *bogs* and *bags*, got out of reach. My friend kept up with me as long as he could, but having run a mile through ſuch difficult places, he was quite ſpent, and the *Conventiclers* hard at his heels; whereupon he called to me for aſſiſtance, and I alighting put him upon the horſe, bidding him to make the beſt of his way to the laird of *Poddiſhaw's* about two miles off. By this time we ſaw twelve *Covenanters* on horſeback, who advanced towards us by a ſhorter cut, and blocked up a gap, through which we were, of neceſſity, to paſs. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and running towards the rogues, with my broad ſword and piſtol, ſoon forced them to open to the right and left: My comrade got through, and was purſued a good way; but he ſo laid about him with his broad-ſword, that the purſuers being unarmed, durſt not ſeize him. In the mean time, I, who was left on foot, kept the *Covenanters*, who followed me at a proper diſtance; but they pelted me with clods which I ſometim s returned, 'till at laſt, after chaſing me above a mile, they ſaw a party of troopers in red *paſſing by*, at ſome diſtance; and then they gave over *their purſuit.*

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The troopers, obſerving my friend galloping and purſued, imagined he was ſome *Fanatic Preacher*, 'till they came to an old woman on a hill, whom my friend had deſired to deny his being gone that way; upon which they went off to their quarters, and he got ſafe to *Poddiſhaw's*, whither I ſoon after arrived. The laird of *Poddiſhaw* had been that day at church; from whence, returning with the laird of *Pocammock*, who lived about a mile off, they both wondered how the horſe got thither, for *Pocammock* was the owner of the horſe, and his lady had rode on it that day to the *Conventicle*, without her huſband's knowledge, having been ſeduced thither by ſome *Fanatic Neighbours*, for ſhe had never been at their meetings before. My friend and I acquainted the two lairds with the whole adventure of that day: And, after dinner, *Pocammock* requeſted to let him have the horſe home, thereby to ſtifle any *reflexion* his lady might bring upon *Him*, or *Herſelf*, by going to a *Conventicle*; he likewiſe invited us to dine next day at his houſe, where the horſe ſhould again be delivered to me, as juſtly forfeited by the folly of his wife. We went accordingly with the laird of *Poddiſhaw*, and dined at *Pocammock's*, where the horſe was ordered to be led out into the court, in the ſame accoutrements as I found him the day before: But obſerving the lady in tears, I told her, that if ſhe would give me her promiſe, never to go to a *Conventicle* again, I would beſtow her the horſe, and conceal what had paſſed; ſhe readily complied, and ſo the matter was made up. However, the laird her huſband aſſured me, that no horſe in *Scotland* ſhould be better paid for; and, being a leading man in the country, and his lady diſcovering the names of thoſe who had been at the *Conventicle*; he ſent for them, and perſuaded them, as they valued their quiet, to make up a purſe for me and my friend, which they accordingly did; and we both lived plentifully a twelve-month after, on the price of that horſe.

This adventure, making much noiſe at *Edinburg*, was the occaſion of my being ſent for up thither, by *the marquis of Athol*, my colonel, who in a very friendly manner, expoſtulated with me upon my raſhneſs

as indeed he had too much reaſon to do; neither was I able to ſay any thing in my own juſtification. However, ſince what I had done, diſcovered my *loyalty* for my prince, my zeal for the *Church*, and my *deteſtation* of all *rebellious principles*; his lordſhip ever after gave me many marks of his friendſhip.

Accordingly, theſe ſervices gave me ſo much credit with the general, that he promiſed to apply to the government, in my favour, for ſome preferment in the army, upon the firſt opportunity, which happened about a year afterwards. For the ſeditious humours in the weſt ſtill increaſing, it was thought proper, that three *Independent Troops* of *Horſe*, and as many *Dragoons*, ſhould be raiſed to ſuppreſs the *Rebels*. Whereupon Mr. *Francis Stuart*, grandſon to the earl of *Bothwell*, a private gentleman in the horſe-guards, like myſelf, and my intimate acquaintance, was ſent for in haſte, by the general; becauſe the council of *Scotland* was then writing to the king; that his majeſty would pleaſe to grant *Commiſſions* to thoſe perſons, whoſe *Names* were to be ſent up to *London*, that very night. Mr *Stuart* gave me notice of this: Whereupon, although I was not ſent for, I reſolved to go up with him to *Edinburg*, and ſollicit for myſelf. When I arrived there, and attended the general, his firſt queſtion was in a humorous manner, *wha the Deel ſent for you up?* I anſwered, that I hoped his excellency would now make good his promiſe of preferring me, ſince ſo fair an opportunity offered at preſent. On this occaſion the general ſtood my firm friend, and although the *Sons* and *Brothers* of *Lords* and *Baronets*, and other Perſons of *quality* ſollicited to be made *Lieutenants* and *Cornets*, in theſe new raiſed troops, yet the general, in regard to my ſervices, prevailed with the council that I might be appointed *Lieutenant* to Mr. *Stuart* who was then made *Captain* of *Dragoons*.

Soon after this, the *Archbiſhop* of St. *Andrews* was murdered by the laird of *Hackſton* and *Balfour*, aſſiſted by four *poor Weavers*. *Hackſton*, before this horrid action, was reputed an *honeſt* and *gallant Man*; but his *friendſhip* for his brother-in-law Balfour, drew him in to commit this *inhuman murder*. Balfour, who had been the

the *Archbiſhop's Chamberlain* (for ſo in *Scotland* we call a great man's ſteward) whether by *negligence* or *diſhoneſty*, was ſhort in his payments to his lord; and the fear of being called to an account, was a principal motive to aſſaſſinate his maſter: however, he pretended likewiſe a great zeal for the *kirk*, whereof he looked upon the *Archbiſhop* as the greateſt *oppreſſor*. It is certain, that the lower people mortally hated the *Archbiſhop*, on pretence that his Grace had deſerted their *communion*: And the weavers who were accomplices of *Balfour*, believed they did *God ſervice* in deſtroying an enemy of the *kirk*; and accordingly all the murderers were eſteemed and ſtiled *Saints*, by that *rebellious faction*.

After the murder of the *Archbiſhop*, ſeveral parties in the weſt took up arms, under the leading of *Robert Hamilton*, ſecond ſon to Sir *William Hamilton* of *Preſton*, the unworthy ſon of a moſt worthy father: Whereupon the council met, and ſent for *Graham*, then laird of *Clavers*, afterwards created Viſcount *Dundee*, by King *James* the ſeventh. This noble perſon was, at that time, captain of one of thoſe independent troops of horſe, which, as I have already mentioned, were raiſed before the murder of the *Archbiſhop*. The council therefore ordered him to march with a detachment of one hundred and twenty dragoons, and a lieutenant, with his own troop, in purſuit of the *Rebels*. *Clavers* was obliged not to open his commiſſion, until he came in ſight of them. In his march he took Mas *John King*, one of their principal *Preachers*. *Clavers* carried *King* along, until he came in ſight of the enemy, at *Drumclog*, eight miles from *Hamilton*. There the *Preacher* was guarded by a dragoon-centry, at a little cabbin, on the top of the hill, while *Clavers*, opening his commiſſion, found himſelf commanded to fight the *Rebels*, let their number be ever ſo great, with thoſe *hundred and twenty Dragoons*.

But before I proceed to tell the iſſue of this affair, I muſt digreſs a little upon the ſubject of Mas *John King*, above-mentioned. When I was in the guards, ſometime after I had miſſed *Williamſon*, at lady *Cherrytree's* houſe; the government hearing that this John King was beginning to hold his Conventicles not far from Sterling,

Sterling, where the troop of horſe then lay, ordered the commanding officer there, to ſend a party out to take him, and bring him up to the council. I was pitched upon, with a ſmall detachment, to perform this ſervice. I went to my Lord *Cardroſſe's* houſe, to whoſe lady *King* was chaplain; there I took him, and delivered him to the council. This *Preacher* had gotten the lady's woman with child, about four or five months before, and, it is ſuppoſed, had promiſed her marriage, provided the lady would ſtand his friend in his preſent diſtreſs; whereupon ſhe was ſo far his friend, as to get him bailed, on her engaging he ſhould hold no more *Conventicles*: However he went to the hills, and there preached the people to arms; and in ſeveral towns, as *Kirkubry*, *Lanerick*, and *Sanchar* in particular, in company with *Cameron*, ſet up *declarations* on the *Market-croſſes* againſt the King, whom he *excommunicated*, with all his *adherents*. Thus he continued till *Clavers* took him at *Drumclog*, as is above-mentioned, where he got off again, until I took him a third time, after the battle of *Bothwell-Bridge*, which ſhall be related in its proper place.

The *Rebels* at *Drumclog* were eight or nine thouſand ſtrong: Their leader, as I have ſaid before, was *Robert Hamilton*, ſecond brother to the loyal houſe of *Preſton*, but a *profligate*, who had ſpent all his *patrimony*. There were likewiſe among them the lairds of *Knockgray* and *Fruah*, with many other gentlemen of fortune, whoſe names I have forgot. *Clavers's* men, with the addition of ſome few that came in to him, did not exceed one hundred and eighty; yet, purſuant to his orders, he was forced to fight the enemy; but being ſo vaſtly outnumbered, was ſoon defeated, with the loſs of cornet *Robert Graham*, and about eight or ten private troopers. The *Rebels* finding the cornet's body, and ſuppoſing it to be that of *Clavers*, becauſe the name of *Graham* was wrought in the ſhirt-neck, treated it with the utmoſt inhumanity, cutting off the noſe, picking out the eyes, and ſtabbing it through in an hundred places.

Clavers, in his flight towards *Hamilton* and *Glaſgow*, rode an horſe that trailed his guts for two miles, from the place where the engagement happened, but then

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overtaking his groom with ſome led horſes, he mounted one of them, and, with the remains of his ſmall army, eſcaped to *Glaſgow*. The rebels, purſuing as far as *Hamilton*, advanced that evening within a mile of *Glaſgow*, where they encamped all night. As *Clavers* was marching after his men up the hill, where he had left Mas *John King*, under the guard of a dragoon, (who ran off with the firſt that fled) *King*, in a ſneering way, deſired him to ſtay, and take his priſoner with him.

The rebels being thus encamped within a mile of *Glaſgow*, *Clavers* commanded his men in the town, to ſtand to their arms all night; and having baricadoed the four ſtreets, to prevent the rebels horſe from breaking in, ordered me, at ſun-riſe, to march with ſix dragoons, and diſcover which way the rebels intended to come into the town. I muſt here obſerve, that I, with Captain *Stuart's* troop of dragoons, and a battalion of the foot-guards, remained in *Glaſgow*, while *Clavers* marched to *Drumclog*, where he was defeated. But to return; I followed the directions which were given me, and having diſcovered the enemy from a little eminence, I was ordered by *Clavers*, who came to me there, to watch at a ſmall houſe, where the way divided, and ſee which of the roads they would take, or whether they ſeparated, and each party took a different way. I ſtayed until I ſaw them take two different roads; ſome by that from whence I came from the town, which was over the *Galligate-Bridge*, and the reſt by the *High Church* and *College*, which was more than twice as far as the firſt party had to come, and conſequently could not both meet at the ſame time within the town. This was a great advantage to *Clavers*, and his little army. That party of the rebels, which took *Galligate-Bridge* road, followed me cloſe at the heels, as I returned to inform *Clavers* what courſe they took.

The broad ſtreet was immediately full of them, but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows, who followed the other road, could arrive to their aſſiſtance, were valiantly received by *Clavers* and his men, who firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts

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and cars, that compoſed the barricade, chaſed them out of the town; but were quickly forced to return, and receive the other party; which, by that time, was marching down by the *High-church* and *College*; but when they came within piſtol-ſhot, were likewiſe fired upon, and driven out of the town. In this action many of the rebels fell, but the King's party loſt not ſo much as one man.

The town's-men being too well affected to the rebels, concealed many of them in their houſes; the reſt who eſcaped, met and drew up in a field behind the *High-church*, where they ſtayed until five in the afternoon, it being in the month of *May*, and from thence marched in a body to the ſame place where they were in the morning, about a mile off the town. *Clavers* and his men expecting they would make a ſecond attack, and diſcovering by his ſpies, whither they were gone, marched after them; but upon ſight of our forces, the rebels retired with a ſtrong rear-guard of horſe to *Hamilton*; whereupon *Clavers* returned, and quartered that night in *Glaſgow*.

Next morning, the government ſent orders to *Clavers* to leave *Glaſgow*, and march to *Sterling*, eighteen miles further; and three days after, he was commanded to bring up his party to *Edinburg*. As ſoon as he quitted *Glaſgow*, the rebels returned, and having ſtayed in that town eight or ten days, encamped on *Hamilton-Moor*, within a mile of *Bothwell-Bridge*, where it was ſaid, that their numbers were increaſed to fourteen thouſand; although biſhop *Burnet*, in his *Hiſtory of his own Times*, moſt falſly and partially affirms, that they were not more than four thouſand, or thereabouts.

The council, finding the rebels daily increaſing in their numbers, gave information thereof to the King; whereupon his Majeſty ſent down the Duke of *Monmouth*, with a commiſſion to be *Commander in Chief*, and to take with four troops of *Engliſh Dragoons*, which were quartered on the borders: But theſe, with the forces in *Scotland*, amounted not to above three thouſand. Upon the Duke's being made *Commander in Chief*, General *Dalziel* refuſed to ſerve under him, and remained

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at his lodgings in *Edinburg*, till his Grace was superseded, which happened about a fortnight after.

The army was about four miles forward, on the road towards *Hamilton*, when the Duke of *Monmouth* came up with his *Engliſh Dragoons*, on *Saturday* the 21ſt of *June*: from thence the whole forces marched to the *Kirk* of *Shots*, within four miles of the rebels, where they lay that night. The next morning he marched the army up an eminence, oppoſite to the main body of the enemy, who were encamped on the *Moor*.

The general officers, the Earl of *Linlithgow*, Colonel of the foot-guards, the earl of *Mar*, colonel of a regiment of foot, *Clavers*, the earl of *Hume*, and the earl of *Ayrly*, all Captains of horſe, the marquiſs of *Montroſe*, colonel of the horſe-guards, (*Athell* having been diſcarded) *Ballcaſtle*, with many other noblemen, and gentlemen volunteers attending the duke together, deſired his grace to let them know which way he deſigned to take to come at the enemy, the duke anſwered, it muſt be by *Bothwell-bridge*. Now the bridge lay a ſhort mile to the right of the king's army, was narrow, and guarded with three thouſand of the Rebels, and ſtrongly barricadoed with great ſtones; but although the officers were deſirous to have paſſed the river, by *eaſy fords*, directly between them and the Rebels, and to march to their main body on the *moor*, before thoſe three thouſand, who guarded the bridge, could come to aſſiſt them; yet the duke was obſtinate, and would paſs no other way, than that of the *bridge*.

Purſuant to this *prepoſterous* and *abſurd reſolution*, he commanded Captain *Stuart*, (whoſe lieutenant I was) with his troop of dragoons, and eighty muſqueteers, together with four ſmall field-pieces, under cover of the dragoons, to beat off the party at the bridge: The duke himſelf, with *David Leſly* and *Melvill*, accompanied us, and ordered the field-pieces to be left at the village of *Bothwell*, within a muſket ſhot of the bridge. When the duke and his men came near the bridge, the *Rebels* beat a parley, and ſent over a laird, accompanied with a *kirk-preacher*. The duke asking what they came for? Was anſwered, 'That they would have 'the *kirk eſtabliſhed* in the ſame manner, as it ſtood at

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'the king's reſtoration, and that every ſubject ſhould be 'obliged to take the *ſolemn league* and *covenant*.' The duke told them, their demand could not be granted, but ſent them back to tell their party, that if they would lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy, he would intercede for their pardon.

While this parley laſted, the field-pieces were brought down, and planted over againſt the *Bridge*, without being perceived by the *Rebels*. The meſſengers returned in a ſhort time, with this anſwer; *That they would not lay down their arms, unleſs their conditions were granted them:* Whereupon the *Dragoons* and *Muſqueteers* fired all at once upon thoſe who guarded the *Bridge*, and the field-pieces played ſo warmly, that ſome hundreds of the *Rebels* were ſlain; the reſt flying to the main body, on the *moor*.

The duke, as ſoon as he had commanded to fire, retired into a *Hollow*, from the enemies ſhot; ſome ſay by the perſuaſion of *Leſly* and *Melvill*, and continued there till the action was over. Then captain *Stuart* ordered the *Muſqueteers* to make way for the horſe, to paſs the *Bridge*, by caſting the ſtones into the river, which had been placed there to obſtruct the paſſage over it; but the army could not paſs in leſs than *five hours*; and then marched up in order of battle towards the enemy, who waited for them on the *moor*, confiding in the great ſuperiority of their number. *Clavers* commanded the horſe on the *Right*, and captain *Stuart* the dragoons on the *Left*. The field-pieces were carried in the *Centre* of the foot-guards, while the reſt of the officers commanded at the head of their men; and the duke, after the enemy was beaten from the *Bridge*, rode at the head of the army.

Upon the firſt fire, the *Rebels* horſe turned about, and fled upon the *Right* and *Left*; and although the duke ordered his men not to ſtir out of the ranks to purſue them, yet the army, not regarding his commands, followed the flying *Rebels*, killing between ſeven and eight hundred, and taking fifteen hundred priſoners. Sir *John Bell*, provoſt of *Glaſgow*, as ſoon as he ſaw the *Rebels* fly, rode into the town; from whence, in a few hours, he ſent all the bread he could find, together with an *hogſhead* of drink to each troop and company in the

army,

army, out of the cellars of ſuch *Town's-men* as were found to be abettors or protectors of the *Rebels*.

The *Cruelty* and *Preſumption* of that *wicked* and *perverſe Generation*, will appear evident from a ſingle *Inſtance*. Theſe *Rebels* had ſet up a very large *Gallows*, in the middle of their camp, and prepared a *Cart-full* of new *Ropes* at the foot of it, in order to hang up the king's ſoldiers, whom they already looked upon as vanquiſhed, and at mercy; and it happened, that the purſuers in the *Royal Army*, returning back with their priſoners, choſe the place where the gallows ſtood, to guard them at, without offering to hang one of them, which they juſtly deſerved, and had ſo much reaſon to expect. The purſuers were no ſooner returned, and the whole action over, than general *Dalziel* arrived at the camp from *Edinburg*, with a commiſſion renewed to be *Commander in Chief*, which he received that very morning by an expreſs. This commander having learned how the duke had conducted the war, told him publicly, and with great plainneſs, that he had *betrayed the King*; that he heartily wiſhed his commiſſion had come a day ſooner; for then, ſaid he, *theſe Rogues ſhould never have troubled his Majeſty, or the Kingdom any more.*

Thus the duke was at the ſame time ſuperſeded, and publicly rebuked before all the army; yet his grace forgot his dignity ſo far, as to *ſneak* among them at the town of *Bothwell*, (where the forces encamped) until the *Saturday* following; then all the troops marched back to *Glaſgow*, from whence, in two or three days, they were ſent to their ſeveral quarters; after which the duke of *Monmouth* paſſed by *Sterling* to *Fife* to viſit the duke of *Rothes*.

The ſame evening, after the rout on the *Moor*, the priſoners were ſent with a ſtrong guard towards *Edinburg*. On *Saturday* morning, when the army was to march to *Glaſgow*, I deſired the general's leave to go with twelve dragoons, in ſearch of ſome of the *Rebels*, who might probably paſs the *Clyde* about *Dunbarton*, to ſhelter themſelves in the *Highlands*. With theſe dragoons, clad in grey coats and bonnets, I made haſte down the ſide of the river; and about midnight, after

travelling twenty-four miles, I came to a church, and while the ſoldiers ſtayed to refreſh their horſes in the church-yard, I ſpied a country-fellow going by, and asked him in his own dialect, *Whither gang ye this time of night?* He anſwered, *Wha are ye that ſpeers?* I replied, *We are your ane Fo'ke:* Upon this the Fellow came up, and told me, there were eighteen *Friends*, with horſes, at an old caſtle, waiting for a boat to paſs over into the iſle of *Arran*. I mounted the man behind one of my dragoons, and went towards the place: But the *Rebels* not finding a boat, were gone off, and the guide diſmiſſed. There was a great dew on the graſs, which directed me and my party to follow the track of their horſes for three or four miles, till the dew was gone off. I then enquired of a *Cow-herd* on a hill, whether he ſaw any of our *poor Fo'ke* travelling that way? he anſwered, that they had ſeparated on that hill, and gone three ſeveral ways, ſix in a party; adding, that in one party there was *a bra muckle Kerl*, with a *white Hat on him, and a great Bob of Ribbons on the Cock o't.* Whereupon I ſent four of my *Dragoons* after one party, four more after another; and myſelf, with the remaining four, went in purſuit of him with the *white Hat*. As I went forward, I met another *Cow-herd*, who told me, that the fellow with the *Hat*, and one more, (for as the *Rogues* advanced further into the *Weſt*, they ſtill divided into ſmaller parties) were juſt gone down the hill, to his maſter's houſe. The good man of the houſe returning from putting the horſes to graſs in the garden, was going to ſhut the door; whereupon myſelf and two of the *Dragoons* commanded him, with our piſtols at his breaſt, to lead us to the room where the man lay who wore a *white Hat*. We entered the room, and before he awaked, I took away his arms, and commanded him to dreſs immediately: Then finding his companion aſleep in the *Barn*, I forced him likewiſe to ariſe, and mounting them both on their own horſes, came at nine o'clock in the morning, with my two priſoners, to the other *Dragoons*, at the place where we appointed to meet. From thence we rode ſtraight to *Glaſgow*, and arrived thither about eight in the evening,

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after a journey of *fifty miles*, ſince we left the army at *Bothwell* the day before.

This was upon a *Sunday*, and although we met with many hundreds of people on the road, yet we travelled on to *Glaſgow* without any oppoſition. I muſt here inform the reader, that although I had once before taken this *very Man*, who wore the *white Hat*, yet I did not know him to be Mas *John King* already mentioned, until I was told ſo by the man of the houſe where I found him. I likewiſe forgot to mention, that *King*, who knew me well enough, as ſoon as he was taken in the houſe, entreated me to ſhew him ſome favour, becauſe he had married a woman of my name; I anſwered, *That is true, but firſt you got her with Bairn*, and *ſhall therefore now pay for diſgracing one of my name.*

When we arrived near *Glaſgow*, I ſent a dragoon to inform the general, that Mas *John King* was coming to kiſs his hand; whereupon his excellency, accompanied with all the noblemen and officers, advanced as far as the *Bridge*, to welcome me and my priſoners; where it is very obſervable, that *Graham, laird of Claverſ*, who came among the reſt, made not the leaſt reproach to Mas *John*, in return of his inſolent behaviour, when that commander fled from *Drumclog*. Mas *John* was ſent to *Edinburg* next morning, under a guard, and hanged ſoon after. From hence I went to my quarters in *Lanerick*, ſixteen miles from *Glaſgow*; and about a month after, (I hope the reader will excuſe my weakneſs) I happened to dream that I found one *Wilſon*, a Captain among the *Rebels* at *Bothwell-bridge*, in a bank of wood, upon the river *Clyde*. This accident made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on my mind, that as ſoon as I awaked, I took ſix and thirty dragoons, and got to the place by break of day; then I cauſed ſome of them to alight, and go into the wood, and ſet him up as *Hounds* do a *Hare*, while the reſt were ordered to ſtand centry to prevent his eſcape. It ſeems I dreamt *fortunately*, for *Wilſon* was actually in the wood, with five more of his company, as we afterwards learned; who all ſeeing me and my party advancing, hid themſelves in a little iſland on the river, among the broom that grew upon it. *Wilſon* had not the good fortune to eſcape; for as he was trying to get out of one copſe in-

to another, I met him, and gueſſing by his *good Cloaths*, and by the deſcription I had received of him before, that he was the man I looked for; I ſeized and brought him to my quarters; and from thence immediately conveyed him to *Edinburg*, where he was hanged; but might have preſerved his life, if he would have condeſcended only to ſay, *God ſave the King*. This he utterly refuſed to do, and thereby loſt not only his life, but likewiſe an eſtate, worth twenty-nine thouſand marks *Scots*.

For this ſervice, the duke of *Queenſbury*, then *High Commiſſioner* of *Scotland*, recommended me to the king, who rewarded me with the gift of *Wilſon's Eſtate*: but although the grant paſſed the ſeals, and the *Sheriff* put me in *poſſeſſion*, yet I could neither ſell it nor lett it; no body daring, for fear of the rebels who had eſcaped at *Bothwell-bridge*, either to *purchaſe* or *farm* it; by which means I never got a penny by the grant; and at the *Revolution* the land was taken from me and reſtored to *Wilſon's heirs*.

The winter following, General *Dalziel*, with a battalion of the *Earl of Linlithgow's* guards, the Earl of *Airly's* troop of horſe, and Captain *Stuart's* troop of dragoons, quartered at *Kilmarnock*, in the *Weſt*, fifty miles from *Edinburg*. Here the general, one day, happening to look on, while I was exerciſing the troop of dragoons, aſked me when I had done, whether I knew any of my men, who was ſkilful in praying well in the ſtile and tone of the *Covenanters*? I immediately thought upon one *James Gibb*, who had been born in *Ireland*, and whom I made a dragoon. This man I brought to the General, aſſuring his Excellency, that if I had *raked Hell*, I could not find his match for his ſkill in mimicking the *Covenanters*. Whereupon the General gave him five pounds, to buy him a great coat and a bonnet, and commanded him to find out the *Rebels*, but to be ſure to take care of himſelf among them. The dragoon went eight miles off that very night, and got admittance into the houſe of a notorious rebel, pretending he came from *Ireland* out of *Zeal for the Cauſe*, to aſſiſt at the *Fight of Bothwell-bridge*, and could not find an opportunity ſince, of returning to *Ireland* with ſafety; he ſaid he durſt not be ſeen in the day time, and

and therefore, after bewitching the family with his gifts of praying, he was conveyed in the dusk of the evening, with a guide, to the house of the next adjoining Rebel; and thus, in the same manner, from one to another, till in a month's time he got through the *principal of them in the West*; telling the general, at his return, that wherever he came, he made the old wives, in their devout fits, *tear off their Biggonets and Mutches*. He likewise gave the General a list of their names and places of their abodes, and into the bargain, brought back a good purse of money in his pocket. The General desired to know how he had *prayed* amongst them; he answered, that it was his custom in his prayers, to send the *King*, the *Ministers of State*, the *Officers of the Army*, with all their Soldiers, and the *Episcopal Clergy*, all *broad-side to Hell*; but particularly the *General himself*: What, said the General, did you send me to Hell, Sir? *Yea* replied the dragoon, you at the head of them as their *leader*.

And here I do solemnly aver upon my *Veracity* and *Knowledge*, that *Bishop Burnet*, in the *History of his own Times*, hath, in a most false and scandalous manner, misrepresented the action at *Bothwell-bridge*, and the behaviour of the *Episcopal Clergy* in *Scotland*: For, as to the former, I was *present* in that engagement, which was performed in the manner I have related; and as to the latter, having travelled through most parts of that Kingdom, particularly the *North* and *West*; I was well acquainted with them, and will take it to my death, that the reverse of this character, which *Burnet* gives of both, is the truth. And because that author is so unjust to the *Episcopal Clergy*, and so partial to the *Covenanters*, and their *teachers*, I do affirm, that I have known several among the latter sort guilty of those very vices, wherewith this Bishop brands the *Episcopal Clergy*. Among many others, I will produce one instance, rather to divert the reader, than from any *obliquy*. One of those eight *fanatick teachers*, who were permitted at the *Restoration* to keep their livings, came to Sir *John Carmichael*'s *house*, within a mile of *Lanerick*, where I was then upon a visit to Sir *John*. We drank hard till it was late, and all the company retired, ex-

cept Sir *John* and myſelf. The *teacher* would needs give us *prayers*, but fell aſleep before he had half done; whereupon Sir *John* and I, ſetting a bottle and glaſs at his *noſe*, left him upon his *knees*. The poor man ſneaked off early the next morning, being, in all appearance, aſhamed of his *hypocriſy*.

To return from this digreſſion. The General ſent out ſeveral parties, and me with a party among the reſt; where, during the *winter*, and the following *ſpring*, I ſecured many of thoſe, whoſe names and abodes the *canting dragoon* had given a liſt of.

In *July* following, the General, by order of council, commanded me to go with a *detachment of thirty horſe*, and *fifty dragoons* in purſuit of about one hundred and fifty *Rebels*, who had eſcaped at *Bothwell-bridge*, and ever ſince kept together in a body, up and down in *Galloway*. I followed them for five or ſix days, from one place to another; after which, on the 22d of *July*, they ſtayed for me at *Airs-Moſs*, ſituate in the ſhire of *Air*, near the town of *Cumlock*. The *moſs* is four miles long from *eaſt* to *weſt*, and two broad. The *Rebels* drew up at the *eaſt* end, and conſiſted of thirty horſe and one hundred and twenty foot. I faced them upon a riſing ground with my thirty horſe and fifty dragoons. The reaſon why the *Rebels* choſe this place to fight on, rather than a plain field, was for fear their *horſe* might deſert the *foot*, as they did on *Hamilton-moor*, near *Bothwell-bridge*: And likewiſe that in caſe they loſt the day, they might ſave themſelves by retreating into the *moſs*.

I placed myſelf on the *left*, as judging, that the beſt officer the *Rebels* had would command on the *right*. The action began about five in the afternoon, but laſted not long; for I ordered my men firſt to receive the enemy's fire, then to ride down the hill upon them, and uſe their broad-ſwords. They did ſo, and before the enemy had time to draw theirs, cut many of them down in an inſtant; whereupon they wheeled about, and *Captain Fowler*, who commanded the *Rebels* on the *right*, being then in the *rear*, advancing up to me, I gave him ſuch a blow over the head with my broad-ſword, as would have cleaved his ſkull, had it not been defended

defended by a *ſteel-cap*. *Fowler* turning about, aimed a blow at me, but I warded it off, and with a back ſtroke, cut the upper part of his head clean off, from the noſe upwards.

By this time, the *Rebels* leaving their horſes, fled to the *moſs*; but the *Royaliſts* purſuing them, killed about ſixty, and took fourteen priſoners. Here *Cameron*, the *famous Covenanter*, loſt his life; and *Haxton* was taken priſoner, infamous for embruing his hands in the blood of the *Archbiſhop of St. Andrews*, as I have already mentioned; for which *parricide*, both his hands were afterwards cut off, and he was hanged at *Edinburg*.

But this victory coſt me very dear; for being then in the rear, I rode into the *moſs* after the *Rebels*, where I overtook a dozen of them, hacking and hewing one of my men, whoſe horſe was *bogged*; his name was *Elliot*, a ſtout ſoldier; and one of *Clavers*'s *troop*. He had received ſeveral wounds, and was at the point of being killed, when I came to his relief I ſhot one of the *rogues* dead with my *carbine*, which obliged the reſt to let the poor man and his horſe creep out of the *hole*; but at the ſame time drew all their fury upon myſelf; for *Elliot* made a ſhift to crawl out of the *moſs*, leading his horſe in his hand, but was wholly diſabled from aſſiſting his deliverer, and was not regarded by his enemies, who probably thought he was mortally wounded, or indeed rather that they had no time to mind him; for I laid about me ſo faſt, that they judged it beſt to keep off, and not to venture within my reach; till it unfortunately happened, that my horſe ſlipped in the ſame hole, out of which *Elliot* and his had juſt got. When they had me at this advantage, they began to ſhew their courage, and manfully dealt their blows with their broad-ſwords, from ſome of which the *carbine* that hung down my back defended me a little. As I was *paddling in the hole*, the horſe not able to get out, one of the *Rebels* ran me through the ſmall of the back with his broad-ſword, and at the ſame inſtant, two more wounded me under the ribs with their ſmall ones. Then I threw myſelf over the head of my horſe, taking the far piſtol out of the holſter in my left hand, and holding my broad-ſword in my *right*;

and

and as one of the *villains* was coming haſtily up to me, his foot ſlipped, and before he could recover himſelf, I ſtruck my ſword into his ſkull; but the fellow being big and heavy, ſnapped it aſunder as he fell, within a ſpan of the hilt. The *Rebels* had me now at a great advantage: One of them made a ſtroke at me, which I warded off with the hilt of the ſword that was left in my hand; but the force with which he ſtruck the blow, and I kept it off, brought us both to the ground. However, I got up before him, clapped my piſtol to his ſide, and ſhot him dead. As ſoon as this was done, another came behind me, and with ſome weapon or other, ſtruck me ſuch a blow on the head, as laid me flat on my back; in which poſture I remained a good while inſenſible. The *rogues* taking it for granted that I was dead, ſcoured off, fearing that by this time, ſome of my men were returning back from the purſuit.

After ſome time, I a little recovered my ſenſes, and ſtrove to lift myſelf up, which one of the *rogues* happening to ſee at ſome diſtance, immediately returned, and ſaid in my hearing, *God, the dog is no dead yet:* Then coming up to me, took his ſword, and putting its hilt to his breaſt, and guiding it with both his hands, made a thruſt at my belly; but my ſenſes were now ſo far recovered, that I parryed the thruſt with a piece of the ſword which remained ſtill in my hand. The fellow, when he miſſed his aim, almoſt fell on his face; for the ſword ran up to the hilt in the *moſs*; and as he was recovering himſelf, I gave him a dab in the mouth with my broken ſword, which very much hurt him; but he aiming a ſecond thruſt, which I had likewiſe the good fortune to put by, and having as before given him another dab in the mouth, he immediately went off, for fear of the purſuers, whereof many were now returning.

In this diſtreſs, I made a ſhift with much difficulty and pain, to get upon my feet, but my *right leg* being diſabled by the wound I received from the broad-ſword, I was forced to limp by the help of the carbine, which I made uſe of as a ſtaff. I had loſt my *horſe*; *for one of the rogues*, when I had quitted him in the *hole*, led him away through the *moſs*. I recovered him

about

about a year after from the man to whom the *Rebel* had ſold him; and the ſaid *Rebel* when he was at the *gallows*, confeſſed himſelf to be the ſame man who took away the horſe at *Airs-moſs*.

There was a *Lancaſhire Gentleman*, one Mr *Parker*, who came volunteer to *Airs-moſs*, with intent, as he expreſſed himſelf, to *ſee the ſport*. This Gentleman, riding on my *right hand*, at the time when we received the enemy's fire, in the beginning of the action, was ſhot with a *blunderbuſs* under the *left ſhoulder*; the wound was ſo large, that a man might thruſt his fiſt into it: Yet when I defired him to fall back, and take care of his wound, he anſwered me, that he would firſt have his *penny-worth* out of the *Rogues*; and accordingly followed us on *horſeback* into the *moſs*, as far as the horſe could go without *bogging*. But, by that time, his wound ſo grievouſly pained him, with ſome other cuts he got in the purſuit, that he was forced to alight and ſit on a dry ſpot of ground, which he found in the *moſs*, from whence he ſaw all that happened to me, without being able to come to my aſſiſtance, any more than *Elliot*; who having gotten to a riſing ground, ſaw likewiſe all that had paſſed. However Mr *Parker*, as I came limping towards him, could not forbear *laughing*, and ſaid, *What a plague, have you got your bones well paid too?* Then both of us made a ſhift to get up to *Elliot* on the riſing ground.

The *Trumpeter* being by this time returned with ſome others from the purſuit, was ordered to ſound a call, which brought all the reſt back, with the fourteen priſoners, and *Haxton* among the reſt, who was that day *Commander in Chief* among the *Rebels*. Of the King's party, but two were killed, Mr *Andrew Ker*, a gentleman of *Clavers's own Troop*, and one *M'Kabe*, a dragoon in Captain *Stuart*'s troop, where I was lieutenant. The wounded were about eight or nine, beſides *Parker* and *Elliot*. *Elliot* died the next day: He, *Ker*, and *M'Kabe*, were honourably buried by Mr *Brown*, a gentleman who lived hard by, to whoſe houſe their bodies were carried after the fight at the *moſs*. An *Engliſh* lady, living about eight miles off, took care of Mr *Parker*, but he died at her houſe a year after.

after, of his wounds, very much lamented on account of his *loyalty* and *valour*.

When the fight was over, night coming on, I ordered all my men, except twelve *Dragoons*, whom I kept to attend myſelf, to march with the *Priſoners*, and thoſe who were wounded, to *Douglaſs*, fourteen miles off, and to carry along with them *Cameron's head*. In the mean time, I and my party of *Dragoons* went, that night, ſixteen long miles to *Lanerick*, where the general and all the foot quartered; as well to acquaint him with what had been done, as to have my own wounds taken care of. I ſent one of my *Dragoons* before me with my meſſage: Whereupon the general himſelf, although it was after mid-night, accompanied with the earls of *Linlithgow*, *Mar*, *Reſs*, *Hume*, and the lord *Dalhouſie*, came out to meet me at the gate: *Dalhouſie* forced me to lodge in his own *chamber*, to which I was accordingly carried by two of my *Dragoons*. After my wounds had been dreſſed in the preſence of this *Noble Company*, who ſtood round about me, being very thriſty through the loſs of blood, I drank the king's health, and the company's, in a large *glaſs of wine and water*; and then was laid in *Dalhouſie's own bed*.

Next day the general leaving *Lanerick*, with the forces under his command, ordered a troop of horſe and another of dragoons to attend me, till I ſhould be able to travel up to *Edinburg*, for the better conveniency of *Phyſicians* and *Surgeons*. My wounds did not confine me to my bed; and in a month's time I went to *Edinburg* on *horſeback* by eaſy ſtages, where I continued till *Candlemas* following, lingering of the wound I had received by the *broad ſword*. My *Surgeon* was the ſon of the ſame Dr *Irvin*, who firſt got me into the guards; but having unfortunately neglected to ty a ſtring to the *tent of green cloth*, which he uſed for the wound; the tent ſlipped into my body, where it lay under my *navel* ſeven months and five days, and exceedingly pained me, not ſuffering me to ſleep, otherwiſe than by taking *ſoporiferous pills*. When the *tent* was firſt miſſing, neither the *Surgeon*, nor any body elſe ever imagined that it was lodged in my body; but ſuppoſed it to have ſlipped out of the wound while I ſlept,

and

and carried away by ſome *Rat*, or other *vermin*: The *tent* lying thus in my body, made it impoſſible that the wound could heal: Wherefore, after lingering ſeven months, by the advice of a gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, I got leave to go for *Ireland*, with my *Surgeon*, and there try whether my *native air* would contribute any thing to my cure.

However inſignificant this relation may be to the generality of *Readers*; yet I cannot omit a lucky accident to which I owe my cure. While I continued at *Edinburg*, I ordered ſome *pipes of lead* to be made in a *mold*, through which the thin *corruption*, which continually iſſued out of the wound, cauſed by the *tent* remaining in my body, might be conveyed as through a *foſſet*. Theſe *pipes* I cut ſhorter by degrees, in proportion as I imagined the wound was healing at the bottom; till at laſt, by miſtaking the true cauſe, the *tent* continuing ſtill where it did, the *pipes* became too ſhort for the uſe intended; wherefore when I was in *Ireland*, I made a coarſe pipe myſelf, which was long enough: This pipe, after the wound was waſhed with brandy, always remained in my body till the next dreſſing; but being made without art, and ſomewhat jagged at the end, it happened one morning, when the pipe was drawn out as uſual, in order to have the wound waſhed, the tent followed, to the great ſurpriſe of my father, who, at that time, was going to dreſs the wound; my ſurgeon being then at *Caſtle-Irvin*, where I had left him with his brother Dr *Irvin*, at Sir *Gerard Irvin*'s houſe; the ſame gentleman who was delivered out of *Derry-goal* by my father, as I have related in the beginning of theſe memoirs.

The night before the tent was drawn out of my body, having not ſlept a wink, I thought myſelf in the morning ſomewhat feveriſh, and therefore deſired my father to ſend for Dr *Lindſey*, to let me blood. In the mean time, ſlumbering a little, I dreamed that the Covenanters were coming to cut my throat; under this apprehenſion I awaked, and found my neighbour, Captain *Saunderſon*, in my chamber, who was come to viſit me. I then called for my father to dreſs my wound; when the tent followed the pipe, as I have already ſaid,

ſaid, to my great joy, for then I knew I ſhould ſoon be well. I therefore ordered my horſe to be got ready and rode out with Captain *Saunderſon* and my father to meet Dr *Lindſey*, who, hearing the joyful news, carried us to a gentleman's houſe, where we drank very heartily: Then I returned home and ſlept almoſt twenty-four hours. Two days after, Dr *Irvin* and his brother, the ſurgeon, came to my father's houſe, where the Doctor being informed in the circumſtances of my cure, ſeverely chid his brother for his neglect, ſwearing he had a mind to ſhoot him; and that, if I had died, my blood would have been charged on his head. He then ordered me a remedy, which would then heal up the wound in twenty days. This fell out in the beginning of *May*, at which time, taking leave of my father and other friends in *Ireland*, I returned to *Edinburg*, where, before the end of that month, my wound was perfectly healed up; but I was never afterwards ſo able to bear fatigues as I had hitherto been.

The Duke of *York* was arrived at *Edinburg* the *Michaelmas* before, where the General, from the time he left *Lanerick* in *July*, continued with the guards; the reſt of the forces quartering up and down in other places. The General, after my arrival, coming every day to ſee me, in his way, as he went to the Duke's court, did me the honour to mention me and my ſervices to his Royal Highneſs, who was deſirous to ſee me; I was admitted to kiſs his hand, and ordered to ſit down, in regard to my honourable wounds, which would not ſuffer me to ſtand, without great pain. I cannot conceal this mark of favour and diſtinction, ſhewn me by a great Prince, although I am very ſenſible it will be imputed to vanity. I muſt remember likewiſe, that upon my return to *Edinburg*, happening to overtake the General in the ſtreet, and gently touching him, his Excellency turning in a great ſurprize, cried out, *O God, Man, are you living?* I anſwered that I was, and hoped to do the King and his Excellency further ſervice.

After I had continued a month with my friends in *Edinburg*, who all contratulated with me upon my recover

covery, I repaired to the troop at *Lanerick*, where I often ranged with a party through the Weſt, to find out the ſtraggling remains of the covenanting Rebels, but for ſome time without ſucceſs, till a week before *Chriſtmas*, after the Duke of *York* ſucceeded to the crown, and a year and a half after I was cured. Having drank hard one night, I dreamed that I had found Captain *David Steele*, a notorious Rebel, in one of the five farmers houſes on a mountain in the ſhire of *Clideſdale*, and pariſh of *Liſmahego*, within eight miles of *Hamilton*, a place that I was well acquainted with. This man was head of the Rebels, ſince the affair of *Airs-moſs*, having ſucceeded to *Haxton*, who had been there taken, and afterwards hanged, as the reader has already heard; For, as to *Robert Hamilton*, who was their Commander in Chief at *Bothwell-bridge*, he appeared no more among them, but fled, as it was believed, to *Holland*.

Steele, and his father before him, held a farm in the eſtate of *Hamilton*, within two or three miles of that town. When he betook himſelf to arms, the farm lay waſte, and the Duke could find no other perſon who would venture to take it; whereupon his Grace ſent ſeveral meſſengers to *Steele*, to know the reaſon why he kept the farm waſte. The Duke received no other anſwer, than that he would keep it waſte in *ſpight* of him and the *King* too; whereupon his Grace, at whoſe table I had always the honour to be a welcome gueſt, deſired I would uſe my endeavours to deſtroy that rogue, and I would oblige him for ever.

I muſt here take leave to inform the reader, that the Duke of *Hamilton*'s friendſhip for me, was founded upon the many ſervices he knew I had done the public, as well as upon the relation I bore to Sir *Gerard Irwin*, the perſon whom, of all the world, his Grace moſt loved and eſteemed, ever ſince the time they had ſerved in arms together for the *King* in the *Highlands*, with my Lord *Glankern* and Sir *Arthur Forbes*, (father to the preſent Earl of *Granard*) after the King's *defeat at Worceſter*, during the time of the *Uſurpation*.

To return therefore to my ſtory; when I awaked out of my dream, as I had done before in the affair of

Wilſon, (and I deſire the ſame apology I made in the introduction to theſe memoirs, may ſerve for both) I preſently roſe, and ordered thirty ſix dragoons to be at the place appointed by break of day. When we arrived thither, I ſent a party to each of the five farmers houſes. This *villain Steele* had murdered above forty of the King's ſubjects *in cold blood*; and, as I was informed, had often laid ſnares to *entrap me*; but it happened, that although he uſually kept a gang to attend him, yet at this time he had none, when he ſtood in the greateſt need. One of my party found him in one of the farmers houſes, juſt as I happened to *dream*. The *dragoons* firſt ſearched all the rooms below, without ſucceſs, till two of them hearing ſomebody ſtirring over their heads, went up a pair of *turnpike ſtairs*. *Steele* had put on his cloaths, while the ſearch was making below: The chamber where he lay was called the chamber of *Deeſe*, which is the name given to a room where the *laird* lies when he comes to a *tenant's houſe*. *Steele*, ſuddenly opening the door, fired a *blunderbuſs* down at the two *dragoons*, as they were coming up the *ſtairs*; but the *bullets*, grazing againſt the ſide of the *turnpike*, only wounded and did not kill them. Then *Steele* violently threw himſelf down the *ſtairs* among them, and made towards the door to ſave his life, but loſt it upon the ſpot; for the *dragoons* who guarded the houſe diſpatched him with their *broad-ſwords*. I was not with the *party* when he was killed, being at that time employed in ſearching at one of the other four houſes, but I ſoon found what had happened, by hearing the noiſe of the ſhot made with the *blunderbuſs*. From hence I returned ſtrait to *Lanerick*, and immediately ſent one of the *dragoons* expreſs to General *Drummond* at *Edinburg*.

General *Dalziel* died about *Michaelmas* this year, and was ſucceeded by Lieutenant General *Drummond*, who was likewiſe my very good friend.

But I cannot here let paſs the death of ſo brave and loyal a Commander as General *Dalziel*, without giving the *reader* ſome account of him, as far as my *knowledge* or *inquiry* can reach.

Thomas

Thomas Dalziel, among many other *officers*, was taken *priſoner* at the unfortunate defeat at *Worceſter*, and ſent to the *Tower*; from whence, I know not by what means, he made his eſcape, and went to *Muſcovy*; where the *Czar* then reigning, made him his *General*: But ſome time after the *reſtoration* of the *Royal Family*, he gave up his commiſſion, and repairing to King *Charles* the ſecond, was, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices, conſtituted *Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in* Scotland; in which poſt he continued till his death, excepting only one *fortnight*, when he was ſuperſeded by the Duke of *Monmouth*, ſome days before the action at *Bothwell-bridge*, as I have already related. He was bred up very *hardy* from his youth, both in *diet* and *cloathing*. He never wore *boots*, nor above one *coat*, which was cloſe to his *body*, with cloſe *ſleeves*, like thoſe we call *jockey-coats*. He never wore a *peruke*; nor did he ſhave his *beard* ſince the murder of King *Charles* the firſt. In my time his *head* was *bald*, which he covered only with a *beaver-hat*, the *brim* of which was not above three *inches* broad. His *beard* was white and *buſhy*, and yet reached down almoſt to his *girdle*. He uſually went to *London* once or twice in a year, and then only to kiſs the *King's hand*, who had a great eſteem for his *worth* and *valour*. His unuſual *dreſs* and *figure*, when he was in *London*, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, and other young people, who conſtantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with *huzzas*, as he went to *Court*, or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go in to the King; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again, and return to his lodgings. When the *King* walked in the *park*, attended by ſome of his *courtiers*, and *Dalziel* in his company, the ſame *crowds* would always be after him, ſhewing their *admiration* at his *beard* and *dreſs*, ſo that the King could hardly paſs on for the crowd; upon which his Majeſty bid *the devil take* Dalziel, for bringing ſuch a *rabble of boys* together to have their guts ſqueezed out, whilſt they gaped at his long *beard* and *antic habit*; re-

queſting him at the ſame time, (as *Dalziel* uſed to expreſs it) *to ſhave and dreſs like other Chriſtians*, to keep the *poor bairns* out of danger: All this could never prevail on him to part with his *beard*; but yet, in *compliance to his Majeſty*, he went once to Court in the *very height of the faſhion*; but as ſoon as the King, and thoſe about him, had laughed ſufficiently at the ſtrange figure he made, he re-aſſumed his uſual *habit*, to the great joy of the boys, who had not diſcovered him in his faſhionable *dreſs*.

When the Duke of *York* ſucceeded to the crown, General *Dalziel* was reſolved ſtill to retain his *loyalty*, although, at the ſame time, he often told his friends, that all things were going wrong at court; but death came very ſeaſonably to reſcue him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of *duty to his Prince* on one ſide, and *true zeal for his religion* on the other.

I muſt now reſume a little my diſcourſe upon Captain *Steele*. Some time before the action, in which he was killed, General *Drummond*, who was then newly made *Commander in Chief*, ſent for me in haſte, to attend him in *Edinburg*: My way lay through a very *ſtrong paſs* hard by *Airs-moſs*, and within a mile of *Cumlock*: As I was going through *Cumlock*, a friend there told me that *Steele*, with a *party*, waited for me at the *paſs*. I had with me only *one dragoon* and a *drummer*: I ordered the latter to gallop on ſtrait to the *paſs*, and when he got thither, to beat a *dragoon-march*, while I with the *dragoon* ſhould ride along the *bye-path* on the *edge* of the *moſs*. When *Steele* and his men heard the *drum*, they ſcoured croſs the *bye-path* into the *moſs*, apprehending that a *ſtrong party* was coming in ſearch of them: But either I, or the *dragoon*, (I forgot which) ſhot one of the *Rebels* dead, as he croſſed us to get into the *moſs*. To put an end to this buſineſs of *Steele*: When the *dragoon*, whom I ſent expreſs, had delivered his meſſage to General *Drummond*, he was juſt ſetting out for his country-houſe at *Dumblain*, but returned to his lodgings, and wrote me a letter, that he would ſend for me up after the *holydays*, and recommend me to *government* to reward me for my ſervices. He faithfully kept

his

his word, but I received nothing more than *promiſes*.

Steele was buried in the church-yard of *Liſmahego*, by ſome of his friends; who, after the *Revolution*, erected a fair *monument*, on *pillars*, over his *grave*, and cauſed an *epitaph* to be engraved on the *ſtone*, in words to this effect:

Here *lieth the body of Captain* David Steele, *a Saint, who was murdered by* John Creichton (with the date underneath.)

Some of my *friends burleſqued* this *epitaph*, in the following manner:

Here lies the body of Saint Steele,
Murdered by John Creichton, *that* Dee'l.

Duke *Hamilton*, in Queen's *Ann's* time, informed me of this honour done to that infamous *Rebel*; and when I had ſaid to his *Grace*, that I wiſhed he had ordered his *foot men* to *demoliſh* the *monument*, the Duke anſwered, he would not have done ſo for *five hundred pounds*, becauſe it would be an honour to me as long as it laſted.

The laſt *Summer*, about the end of *May*, if I remember right, (and I deſire to be excuſed for not always relating things in the order when they happened) the Marquis of *Argyle*, after having eſcaped out of the *caſtle* of *Edinburg* into *Holland*, returned to invade *Scotland*, to ſupport the Duke of *Monmouth's pretenſions* to the *crown*, as was generally believed. He landed in his own country, in the *Highlands*, with a party of *Dutch*, and ſome *Scottiſh gentlemen* who had fled for *treaſon*; among whom Sir *John Cogheran* was of the greateſt note: Whereupon the government ordered the Marquis of *Atholl*, and Mr *Owen Cameron*, Laird of *Logheel*, to raiſe their *clans*, and march with their party againſt *Argyle*. They did ſo, and, in the *evening*, pitched their *camp* cloſe by him. Here, in the night, *Cameron, patroling with a party*, met another of his own men, and taking them for *enemies*, becauſe they had loſt the *Word* in their *cups*, killed eight or nine; among whom two or three happened to be perſons of note; the friends of thoſe who were killed reſolving, if poſſible, to have him hanged; he was obliged to ride *poſt* to the King. He went to his Majeſty in the dreſs he had travelled;

and the King, being already informed how the accident happened, inſtead of ſuffering him to tell his ſtory, commanded him to draw his *broad ſword*, intending to *knight* him therewith: But *Cameron* could not draw it, becauſe the *ſcabbard* had got *wet* on the way. The King obſerving the *confuſion* he was in, ſaid, he knew the reaſon that kept the *ſword* in the *ſheath*; adding that he never failed to draw it in the *ſervice* of his *father*, his *brother*, and *himſelf*; whereupon he was *knighted* with another *ſword*, with the *title* of Sir *Owen Cameron*. He returned to *Edinburg*, and from thence went as a *volunteer* to ſerve in the *ſtanding-army*, which was then moving towards the coaſt of *Galloway*, to prevent *Argyle* from *landing*. For, upon the *oppoſition* he found from the Marquis of *Athol*, and his men, with their *aſſiſtance* in the *Highlands*, he ſhipped his forces, and ſailed round to the *weſt*, hoping to land there. But the army moving along the coaſt, always in ſight of him, compelled him to return the way he came, until he landed in his own country again. From thence, after gathering what ſupplies of men he could, he marched, and encamped in the evening within two or three miles of *Glaſgow*. But the King's army having ſent out *ſcouts* to diſcover what way he took, encamped over againſt him the ſame *evening* on an *eminence*, there being a *bog* between both *armies*.

The *King's forces* conſiſted of the Earl of *Linlithgow's* regiment of *foot-guards*, the Earl of *Mar's* of *foot*, *Clavers's* of *horſe*, *Dunmore's* of *dragoons*, *Buchan's* of *foot*, and *Lewingſton's* of *horſe-guards*, with ſome gentlemen of quality, *volunteers*; among whom the Earl of *Dunbarton* was of the greateſt note.

Here the two *armies* lay in ſight of each other; but, before *morning*, *Argyle* was gone, his *Highlanders* having deſerted him; and then the *King's army* went to refreſh themſelves at *Glaſgow*, waiting till it could be known which way *Argyle* had fled. It was ſoon underſtood that he had croſſed the *Clyde* at *Kilpatrick*; and that Sir *John Cogberan* lay with a *party*, in a *ſtone-dyke-park*, about ten miles off. The Lord *Roſs* was therefore *diſpatched*, with a *party* of *horſe*, and Captain *Cleland*, who was now my Captain, (my friend Stuart being dead)

dead) with another of *dragoons*, to find them out: When they came up to the *park* where Sir *John Cogheran* lay with his *Dutch*, they fired at one another, and ſome of the *King's ſoldiers fell*, among whom Captain *Cleland* was one; whereupon the troop was given to Sir *Adam Blare* (who was likewiſe wounded in that raſh *engagement*) although, upon Duke *Hamilton's* application to the King, *I had been promiſed* to ſucceed *Cleland*. But Sir *Adam*, and Secretary *Melford*, being *Brothers-in-law*, that intereſt prevailed.

I muſt deſire the *Reader's* pardon, for ſo frequently interſperſing my own private affairs with thoſe of the public; but what I chiefly propoſed, was, to write my *own memoirs*, and not a *hiſtory of the times*, further than I was concerned in them.

Night coming on, the *King's party* withdrew, leaving Sir *John Cogheran* in the *park*, who, notwithſtanding this little ſucceſs, deſired his followers to ſhift for themſelves, and left them before morning. *Argyle* next evening was found alone, a mile above *Greenknock* at the *water-ſide*, endeavouring to get into a little boat, and grappling with the owner thereof, (a poor *Weaver*.) It ſeems he wanted preſence of mind to engage the man with a piece of money, to ſet him on the other ſide. In the mean time Sir *John Shaw* riding with ſome gentlemen to *Greenknock*, and ſeeing the *ſtruggle*, ſeized the Earl, and carried him to *Glaſgow*, from whence he was ſent with a ſtrong guard to *Edinburg*, and ſometime after beheaded.

The next day, the army marched towards the borders againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, but, an expreſs arriving of his defeat, the troops were commanded to repair to their ſeveral quarters.

I ſhall here occaſionally relate an unfortunate accident which happened this ſummer in *Scotland*.

MacDonnel laird of *Cappagh* in the *Highlands*, within eight miles of *Inverlochy*, was unjuſtly poſſeſſed, as moſt men believed, for many years, of an eſtate which in right belonged to the laird of *Mackintoſh*. Both theſe gentlemen were well affected to the King. The laird of *Cappagh*, after ſowing time was over, had gone that ſummer, *as it was* his cuſtom, to make merry with his

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Clans on the mountains, till the time of harveſt ſhould call him home. But in his abſence, *Mackintoſh*, and his *Clans*, aſſiſted with a party of the army by order from the government, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Cappagh's* eſtate; whereupon *MacDonnel* and his *Clans*, returning from the mountains, ſet upon the enemy, killed ſeveral gentlemen among them, and took *Mackintoſh* himſelf priſoner. *MacDonnel* had given ſtrict orders to his men, not to kill any of the army. But Captain *MacKenzy*, who commanded on the other ſide, making a ſhot at one of *MacDonnel's* men, who was purſuing his adverſary, the man diſcharging his piſtol at the Captain, ſhot him in the knee, who, after having been carried fifty miles to *Inverneſs* to a ſurgeon, died of his wound.

Soon after, the government ordered me to detach ſixty dragoons, with a Lieutenant, Cornet and ſtandard, and to march with Captain *Streighton*, and two hundred of the foot guards, againſt the *MacDonnels*; to deſtroy man, woman, and child, pertaining to the laird of *Cappagh*, and to burn his houſes and corn. Upon the approach of our party, *MacDonnel* laird of *Cappagh* diſmiſſing his priſoners, retired farther into the mountains; whereupon we, who were ſent againſt him, continued to deſtroy all the houſes and corn, from the time of *Lammas* to the tenth of *September*; and then we advanced towards the *borders* to join the *Scotch* army, which at that time was marching towards *England* againſt the Prince of *Orange*, who then intended an invaſion. We arrived thither the firſt of *October*, after a march of two hundred miles.

General *Drummond* being then dead, *James Douglaſs*, brother to the Duke of *Queenſberry*, ſucceeded him as Commander in Chief: And *Graham* laird of *Clavers* (about this time created Lord *Dundee*) was Major general. On the firſt of *October*, the *army* paſſed the *Tweed*, and drew up on the *banks* on the *Engliſh* ſide, where the General gave a ſtrict charge to the officers, that they ſhould keep their men from offering the leaſt injury in their march; adding, that if he heard any of the *Engliſh* complain, the officers ſhould anſwer for the faults

faults of their men; and ſo they arrived at *Carliſle* that night.

Next day, General *Dougha ſs*, by order from the King, marched the foot by *Cheſter* towards *London*; and *Dundee* the horſe by *York*; to which city he arrived in four or five days. The army did not reach *London* till about the five and twentieth of *October*, being ordered, by the contrivance of *Douglaſs* the General, to march ſlow, on purpoſe that the Prince of *Orange* might land before the King's forces ſhould grow ſtrong enough to oppoſe him.

The *Scotch* army, at this time, conſiſted of four regiments of foot, one of horſe, one of dragoons, one troop of horſe-guards; and it was computed, that the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was then General of all the King's forces, had under his command, of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, an army of near thirty thouſand men. Soon after the Prince's landing, the King went to *Saliſbury*, with a guard of two hundred horſe, commanded by the old Earl of *Airly*, two days before the body of the army came up to him. The Earl of *Airly*, when he was Lord *Oglelby*, had attended the great Marquis of *Montroſe* in all his actions for King *Charles* the firſt and ſecond. But at this time being old, it was reported that he was dead, before the *Scotch* forces went into *England* to oppoſe the Prince of *Orange*; whereupon the King, believing the report, had given his troop in *Dundee's* regiment to the Earl of *Anandale*: But the Earl having overtook the army at *Cambridge* in their march, went on to *London*; and there preſenting himſelf before the King, his Majeſty was ſo juſt and gracious, that he immediately reſtored his Lordſhip to the troop, ordering him, at the ſame time, to command thoſe two hundred men who attended him down to *Saliſbury*.

When all the forces were arrived at *Saliſbury*, the Earl of *Dunmore*, withhis regiment of Dragoons (wherein I ſerved) was ordered to a paſs three miles below the city, where I commanded the guard that night.

The ſame morning that the army arrived, the great men about the King, as the Lord *Churchill*, &c. to the number of thirty, adviſed his Majeſty to take the air on horſeback, intending as the Earl of Dunmore was informed,

formed, to give up their maſter to the prince; but the King, probably ſuſpecting the deſign, returned in haſte to the city. Next night, at a council of war called to conſult what was fitteſt to be done in the preſent juncture of affairs, the very ſame great men ſwore to ſtand by his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes; and, as ſoon as he was gone to reſt, mounting on horſeback, they all went over to the Prince, except the Earl of *Feverſham*, *Dunbarton*, and a very few more: For the Earl of *Dunbarton* going to his Majeſty for orders, at four of the clock in the morning, found they were all departed.

Thoſe few who ſtayed with the King, adviſed his Majeſty to return immediately to *London*; and the Lord *Dundee* was ordered to bring up the *Scotch* horſe and Dragoons, with the Duke of *Berwick's* regiment of horſe, to *Reading*, where he joined *Dunbarton* with his forces, and continued there nine or ten days. They were in all about ten thouſand ſtrong. General *Douglaſs*, with his regiment of foot guards, paſſing by *Reading*, lay at *Maidenhead*; from whence, one of his battalions revolted to the Prince under the conduct only of a corporal, whoſe name was *Kemp*. However, *Douglaſs* aſſured the King, that this defection happened againſt his will; and yet, when the officers were ready to fire upon the deſerters, his compaſſion was ſuch, that he would not permit them.

After this the Earl of *Dunbarton* and the Lord *Dundee*, with all the officers who adhered to the King, were ordered to meet his Majeſty at *Uxbridge*, where he deſigned to fight the Prince. The Earl of *Feverſham* got thither before the King and the army arrived. When the forces drew together, every party ſent an officer to the Earl of *Feverſham*, to receive his commands. I attended his Lordſhip from my Lord *Dundee*, and was ordered with the reſt to wait till the King came to dinner, his Majeſty being expected within half an hour; but it fell out otherwiſe: For the Earl, to his great ſurpriſe, received a letter from the King, ſignifying that his Majeſty was gone off, and had no further ſervice for the army. When I carried this news to my Lord *Dundee*, neither his Lordſhip, nor the Lords *Lin-*

Lithgow and *Dunmore*, could forbear falling into tears: After which, being at a loſs what courſe to take, I ſaid to my Lord *Dundee*, that as he had brought us out of *Scotland*, he ſhould convey us thither back again in a body; adding, that the forces might lye that night at *Watford*, ſix miles off: My advice was followed, and I went before to get billets where to quarter the men. My Lord *Dundee* ordered all to be ready at ſound of trumpet, and to unbridle their horſes no longer than while they were eating their oats. The townſmen contrived to give out a report before day, that the Prince of *Orange* was approaching, hoping to affright us away with a falſe alarm: Whereupon we marched out, but, at the ſame time, drew up in a ſtrong incloſure at the town's end; reſolving to fight the Prince, if he ſhould advance towards us. My Lord *Dundee* diſpatched me immediately, to diſcover whether the report of the Prince's approach were true; but I only met a meſſenger with a letter from his Highneſs, to my Lord *Dundee*, which I received and delivered to his Lordſhip. The contents of it, as far as I am able to recollect, were as follow:

"My Lord DUNDEE,

"I underſtand you are now at *Watford*, and that "you keep your men together; I deſire you may ſtay "there till farther orders, and, upon my honour, none "in my army ſhall touch you."

W. H. Prince of ORANGE.

Upon the receipt of this *letter*, our forces returned into the town, ſet up their *horſes*, and refreſhed themſelves. About three in the afternoon, there came *intelligence*, that the King would be at *Whitehall* that night, having returned from *Feverſham*, whither he had fled in *diſguiſe*, and was ill-treated by the *rabble* before they diſcovered him. Upon this incident, the Lords *Dundee*, *Dunmore*, *Linlithgow*, and myſelf, who deſired leave to go with my Colonel, took horſe; and, arriving at *Whitehall* a little after the king, had the *honour* to kiſs *his Majeſty's hand*.

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The next morning, the Earl of *Feverſham* was ſent by the King, with ſome *propoſals* to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Windſor*, where his Lordſhip was put in *arreſt* by the *Prince's* command, who ſent the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl *Shrewſbury*, and the Lord *Delamair* (if I rightly remember) to the King, with his *Highneſs's* order, that his majeſty ſhould *remove* from *Whitehall* next day, before *twelve o'clock*. This order was given about one in the morning: At the ſame time, a *barge* was brought to *Whitehall-ſtairs*, and a *Dutch* guard ſet about the King, without his knowledge, but with *directions* to ſee him ſafe, if he had a mind to go on board any *ſhip*, in order to his eſcape. A *ſhip*, it ſeems, was likewiſe prepared, and his majeſty, attended by the Lords *Dunmore*, *Arran*, and *Middleton*, went on board; and then the three lords returned to *London*. The *Prince* arrived at *St. James's* about *two hours* after his majeſty's departure; and the Earl of *Arran* went, among the reſt, to attend his Highneſs, to whom being introduced, he told the Prince, that the King, his maſter, had commanded him, upon his departure, to wait upon his Highneſs, and receive his commands. The Prince replied, he was glad to ſee him, and had an eſteem for *him* and *all men of honour*. Then turning aſide to ſome other perſons who were making their court, Dr. *Burnet*, ſoon after made Biſhop *Saliſbury*, who had been the Earl of *Arran's* governor, coming up to his lordſhip, cried, *Ay, my Lord* Arran, *you are now come in, and think to make a merit when the work is done*. To this inſult the Earl, in the hearing of many, replied only, *Come, Doctor, we ken one another weel enough*. And the Earl's own father told the Prince, that if this young fellow were not ſecured, he would, perhaps, give his Highneſs ſome trouble. Whereupon this noble young lord was ſent to the *Tower*, where he continued about a year, and then returned to *Scotland:* And ſoon after, the young Lord *Forbes*, now Earl of *Granard*, was likewiſe impriſoned in the ſame place. King *William* had made ſeveral advances to his lordſhip, as he did to many other perſons of quality, to engage him in his ſervice; and, ſending for him one day, asked him, why he did *not* take care of his regiment? My lord *Forbes*, not being

ing provided on a ſudden with a better anſwer, told the King, that having been born in *Ireland*, he had not credit enough, he believed, to raiſe men to fill up the places of the papiſts in his regiment. King *William* thereupon ſaid, he would take that charge upon himſelf. Lord *Forbes*, having now recollected himſelf, ſaid, he had likewiſe another reaſon why he found it neceſſary to decline his ſervice, but was unwilling to mention it, not having the leaſt intention to diſoblige his Highneſs. The Prince deſired that he might do it freely, and it ſhould not diſoblige him; whereupon my Lord ſaid, that having ſworn to retain his *loyalty* to King *James*, he could not, in *honour* and *conſcience*, without his *maſter's permiſſion*, enter into the *ſervice* of another *Prince*, during his Majeſty's life. Whereupon King *William*, ſoon after, thought it proper to ſend him to the *Tower*; but, however, was ſo generous, as, in the time of his confinement, to ſend one of the clerks of the treaſury, with an order to pay him two hundred pounds, as very reaſonably thinking, that under the loſs of his regiment, as well as of his rents in *Ireland*, he might want money to ſupport himſelf. My Lord *Forbes* having asked the clerk, by whoſe direction he brought that ſum? And the other anſwering, that he was only ordered to pay the money to his lordſhip, and to take his receipt, conjectured this preſent to have proceeded from King *William*; and therefore deſired the clerk to preſent his moſt humble reſpects and thanks to his highneſs, and to let him know, that, as he had never done him any ſervice, he could not, in honour, receive any marks of his bounty.

Upon this ſubject I muſt add one more particular, that when my Lord *Forbes* arrived with his regiment out of *Ireland*, and attended on King *James*, he adviſed his Majeſty to fight the Prince upon the firſt opportunity after his landing, before his party ſhould grow ſtrong: But thoſe about the King, who had already engaged in the other intereſt, would not ſuffer that advice to be followed.

I now return to my Lord *Dundee*, and my Lord *Dunmore*. Their lordſhips acted no longer as Colonels, when they underſtood that the Prince intended to place himſelf on the throne during his Majeſty's life: But the

firſt, with the twenty-four troopers, who followed him up from *Watford*, left *London*, and repaired, with the utmoſt expedition, to his own caſtle; and the ſecond, ſome time after, to *Edinburg* lying both quiet, until the convention of the ſtates of *Scotland* was called.

After their lordſhips were gone to *Scotland*, I went to *Watford*, where my Lord *Kilſythe*, as Lieutenant-Colonel, commanded the Lord *Dunmore*'s regiment of dragoons; the reſt of the army, which had been there, being gone to other places. Then Major-general *MacCoy* ordered the Lord *Kilſythe* to march the regiment from place to place, until they ſhould come to *Congerton*, a town in *Cheſhire*. Here they quartered, when the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, &c. by the ſheriff and three or four bailiffs. It happened to be a very *ſtormy day*; and when the ſheriff had done his office, a crack-brained fellow, at the head of a great rabble, proclaimed the duke of *Monmouth* king, to the great diverſion of the regiment, not believing he had been beheaded.

When my Lord *Dundee* refuſed to ſerve the Prince of *Orange*, Sir *Thomas Levingſton*, of my Lord *Kilſythe*'s family, got the regiment. This gentleman was born in *Holland*, and often uſed to raiſe recruits in *Scotland*; upon which account, he was well known to the regiment. He came down poſt to *Congerton*, and at ſupper, told the officers, that he was ſent to know which of them would ſerve King *William*, and which would not? Now the oath of allegiance to that prince, having not been offered to that regiment, one of the company anſwered; that we having ſworn allegiance to King *James*, could not, in conſcience and honour, draw our ſwords againſt him: Whereupon Sir *Thomas*, drinking an health to King *James*, upon his knees, anſwered, that he wiſhed he might be damned, whenever he ſhould command them to break that oath; and, in order to ingratiate himſelf further with the regiment, added, that he would return to *London* next day, for a command to march them ſtraight to *Scotland*, where their wives and friends were; and likewiſe to procure a captain's commiſſion for me, ſince Sir *Adam Blare*, who commanded the troop in which I was Lieutenant, had refuſed to

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ſerve King *William*; both which he accordingly obtained.

When he returned from *London*, he marched with the regiment directly through *Berwick* into *Scotland*; and as they paſſed by *Edinburg*, (the caſtle whereof was kept for King *James* by the Duke of *Gordon*) Sir *Thomas* and my Lord *Kilſythe* went into the town to receive Duke *Hamilton's* commands, who was then high-commiſſioner; and ſome other officers went in at the ſame time, to ſee their wives and friends.

The Duke asked Sir *Thomas* where I was? and, being informed that I was gone to *Sterling*, deſired I might be ſent for. Upon my attending his Grace, he was pleaſed to ſay, that he had been always my friend; and that now he had it in his power to provide for me, if I would be true to my truſt, (for he ſuppoſed I had taken the oath to King *William*); and, upon my anſwer, that I would be true to what I had ſworn, the Duke replied, it was very well.

Upon this occaſion, and before I proceed further, I think it will be proper to make ſome apology for my future conduct; becauſe I am conſcious, that many people, who are in another intereſt, may be apt to think and ſpeak hardly of me: But I deſire they would pleaſe to conſider, that the revolution was then an event altogether new, and had put many men much wiſer than myſelf at a loſs how to proceed. I had taken the oath of allegiance to King *James*; and having been bred up under the ſtricteſt principles of loyalty, could not force my conſcience to diſpenſe with that oath, during his Majeſty's life. All thoſe perſons of quality in *Scotland*, to whom I had been moſt obliged, and on whom I chiefly depended, did ſtill adhere to that Prince. Thoſe people, whom, from my youth, I had been taught to abhor; whom, by the commands of my ſuperiors, I had conſtantly treated as Rebels; and who, conſequently, conceived an irreconcileable animoſity againſt me, were, upon this great change, the higheſt in favour and employments. And laſtly, the eſtabliſhed religion in *Scotland*, which was epiſcopal, under which I had been educated, and to which I had always born the higheſt veneration, was utter-

ly deſtroyed in that kingdom, (although preſerved in the other two); and the Preſbyterian kirk, which had ever been my greateſt averſion, exalted in its ſtead.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, I hope every candid reader will be ſo juſt to believe, that, ſuppoſing me in an error, I acted at leaſt ſincerely, and according to the dictates of my conſcience; and, as it is manifeſt, without any wordly view: For, I had then conſiderable offers made me, and in all probability ſhould have been greatly advanced, if I could have perſuaded myſelf to accept them.

Having ſaid thus much to excuſe my conduct, from that time forward, I ſhall now proceed to relate facts and paſſages, juſt as they happened; and avoid, as much as poſſible, giving any offence.

My Lord *Dunmore* being then at *Edinburg*, I thought it my duty to pay my reſpects to his Lordſhip, who had been alſo my Colonel. He was pleaſed to invite me to dine with him that day at a tavern; where he ſaid, Lieutenant General *Douglaſs*, (who had left *England*, a little before, on ſome pretence or other) the Lord *Kilſythe*, Captain *Murray*, (all his ain lads as his Lordſhip expreſſed himſelf) were to meet him. I objected againſt *Douglaſs*, that he was not to be truſted; (this was the ſame man, who afterwards was Lieutenant-general of King *William*'s army in *Ireland* againſt King *James*; and whoſe name will never be forgot in that kingdom, on account of his many ravages and barbarities committed there;) but his Lordſhip anſwered, that he would pawn his life for his honeſty; becauſe my Lord *Dundee* had aſſured him, that the Lieutenant-general had given him his faith and honour, to be with him in five days, if he marched to the hills to declare for King *James*. Whereupon I ſubmitted my ſcruples to my Colonel's judgment; and accordingly we all met together at the tavern.

Dinner was no ſooner done, than we heard the news that King *James* was landed in *Ireland*; Then *Douglaſs* taking a beer-glaſs, and looking round him, ſaid, gentlemen, we have all eat of his bread, and here is his health; which he drank off, on his knees; and all the company did the ſame: Then filling another bumper,

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he drank damnation to all who would ever draw a ſword againſt him.

I then returned to *Sterling*, and, ſoon after, the ſtates of *Scotland* met. To this convention my Lord *Dundee* went *incognito*; left the rabble, who had threatened his perſon, ſhould aſſault him in the ſtreets. He made a ſpeech to the houſe, to the following purpoſe: "That "he came thither as a Peer of the realm to ſerve his "Majeſty; and that if the King had no ſervice for "him, he hoped, that honourable aſſembly would "proteſt him as a peaceable ſubject, from the rage of "his enemies."

Upon receiving an anſwer from the ſtates, that they could not poſſibly do it, he ſlipped out of the houſe, and privately withdrew from the town, followed by the twenty-four troopers, who had attended him thither: And, as he rode by the caſtle, ſeeing the Duke of *Gordon*, who commanded it, walking on the walls; he charged his Grace, to keep the place for King *James*, till he ſhould hear further from him, who was then going, he ſaid, to appear in the field for his Majeſty.

His Lordſhip had no ſooner left the town, than one Major *Bunting*, with a party, (by order from the convention) followed, with directions to ſeize him; whereupon my Lord *Dundee*, commanding his attendants to march on gently, ſtopped to ſpeak with the Major; and, underſtanding his errand, adviſed him to return, or he would ſend him back to his maſters in a pair of blankets, as he expreſſed himſelf. The Major (who perhaps was no enemy to his Lordſhip) returned accordingly; and my Lord arrived at his caſtle; where he ſtayed only that night: For in the morning, taking four thouſand pounds with him, he went into the *Highlands*, to Sir *Owen Cameron*; where he was ſoon joined by the laird of *Cappagh*, who, ſometimes before, had been driven out of his eſtate by order of King *James*, (as I have already related) and by many other gentlemen of quality.

Major-general *MacCoy*, coming to *Edinburg* at this juncture, was ordered to march the forces, which he brought *with him*, againſt my Lord Dundee. Theſe forces

forces confiſted of three or four regiments of foot, and one of horſe; beſides Sir *Thomas Levingſton*'s of dragoons. They ſtopped, in their march, a night or two at *Dundee*. The firſt night, I got privately into the caſtle (as it had been agreed between my Lord *Kilſythe*, and me) and there aſſured my Lady *Dundee*, that the regiment of dragoons, in which I ſerved, ſhould be at her Lord's ſervice, whenever he pleaſed to command; whereof her ladyſhip gave notice next day to her huſband; who ſent me a note, by a ragged highlander, which I received as we were on our march from the town of *Dundee* towards the *Highlands*. The contents of my Lord's note were, "That he had "written to the King to ſend him two thouſand foot, "and one thouſand horſe out of *Ireland*; and that, as "ſoon as thoſe forces were arrived, he would expect "me with a regiment of dragoons."

When Major-general *MacCoy* came within ſight of my Lord *Dundee*, night coming on obliged him to halt; which gave opportunity to his Lordſhip to retreat in the morning; but *MacCoy* followed him all day; whereupon, facing about, my Lord advanced towards him, which cauſed the Major-general to retreat in his turn. Thus we ſpent about three weeks, ſometimes purſuing, and ſometimes purſued; our leader, *MacCoy*, ſtill writing every poſt for new ſupplies; till at laſt, one regiment of dragoons, and another of foot, came to his aſſiſtance, on the 5th day of *June*, 1689. When this reinforcement came, he got intelligence of my Lord *Kilſythe*'s intention, and mine, of going over with the regiment to my Lord *Dundee*.

All people agreed, that Lieutenant-general *Douglaſs*, who had made ſo many ſolemn profeſſions of his loyalty to King *James*, and whoſe health he had drank on his knees, was the very perſon, who had given this intelligence to *MacCoy*; becauſe he alone knew what had paſſed at the tavern where we dined; and becauſe, inſtead of going with *Dundee* as he had promiſed him upon his faith and honour, he had rid poſt for *London*.

From this period my troubles began; for I was then ſent up to *Edinburg*, and there impriſoned in the Tolbooth,

Tolbooth, together with my Lord *Kilſythe*, Captain *Leving ſton*, Captain *Murray*, and Lieutenant *Murray*; each of us in a ſeparate dungeon, with orders that none ſhould be permitted to ſpeak with us, except through the key-hole: And in this miſerable condition we lay for two months.

My Lord *Kilſythe's* friends were under great apprehenſions that I would betray his Lordſhip. But my Lord did me the juſtice to aſſure them, that I would ſuffer the worſt extremity rather than be guilty of ſo infamous an action; which, he ſaid, they ſhould find upon any temptation that might offer. When we had been cloſe confined in our dungeons for two months, we were brought before the council, one by one, to be examined concerning our knowledge of my Lord *Kilſythe's* intention to carry off the regiment. *Leving ſton* and the two *Murrays*, having not been privy to that deſign, were able to diſcover nothing to his Lordſhip's prejudice; and were likewiſe gentlemen of too much honour to purchaſe their liberty with a lie; whereupon they were remanded back to their ſeveral dungeons. It was my turn to be next examined, and I was ſtrongly ſuſpected. But, notwithſtanding my liberty was promiſed me if I would diſcover all I knew of the matter, the Lord Advocate at the ſame time alſo urging I muſt have certainly been privy to it; I poſitively denied any knowledge of that affair, adding, that I believed my Lord *Kilſythe* had never entertained ſuch a deſign; or, if he had, that it was altogether improbable his Lordſhip ſhould impart it to me, a poor ſtranger born in *Ireland*, and yet keep it a ſecret from gentlemen of the kingdom, in whom he might much better confide. This I ſtill repeated, and ſtood to with great firmneſs, even after I ſaw the hangman, with the torturing boots, ſtanding at my back; Whereupon I was likewiſe returned to my dungeon.

The council, although they could force no confeſſion from me or my companions, that might affect my Lord *Kilſythe*, on whoſe eſtate their hearts were much ſet, yet reſolved to make a ſacrifice of ſome one among us. But the other gentlemen being of their own kindred and country, and *I* a ſtranger, as well as much hated

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for profecuting the *Covenanters*, (who by the change of the times, meaſures, and opinions, were now grown into high favour with the government, as I have before-mentioned) the lot fell on me, and they gave out a report, that I ſhould be hanged within a few days. But, a gentleman, then in town, one Mr *Buchanan*, who held a ſecret correſpondence with my Lord *Dundee*, ſent his Lordſhip intelligence of this their reſolution concerning me.

That Lord was then at the caſtle of *Blair* of *Atholl*; and, having notice of the danger I was in, wrote a letter to the Duke of *Hamilton*, Preſident of the council, deſiring his Grace to inform the board, " That if they " hanged Captain *Creichton*, or, (to uſe his own home-" ly expreſſion) if they touched an hair of his tail, he " would cut the laird of *Blair*, and the laird of *Pollock*, " joint by joint, and would ſend their limbs in hampers " to the council."

Theſe two gentlemen having been taken priſoners at St. *Johnſtown* by my Lord *Dundee*, were ſtill kept in confinement. Whereupon the Duke, though it was night, called the council, which met immediately, ſuppoſing that the buſineſs which preſſed ſo much might relate to ſome expreſs from Court. But when the clerk read my Lord *Dundee's* letter, they appeared in great confuſion: Whereupon the Duke ſaid, " I fear we " dare not touch an hair of *Creichton*; for ye all " know *Dundee* too well, to doubt whether he will be " punctual to his word; and the two gentlemen in his " hands are too nearly allied to ſome here, that their " lives ſhould be endangered on this occaſion." What his Grace ſaid was very true; for, if I remember right, the laird of *Blair* had married a daughter of a former Duke of *Hamilton*. The iſſue of the matter was, that under this perplexity they all cried out, " Let the fel-" low live a while longer."

Not long after this happened the battle of *Gillicranky*, near the caſtle of the *Blair* of *Atholl*; where the forces under the Lord *Dundee*, conſiſting of no more than ſeventeen hundred foot, (all *Highlanders*, except *three* hundred ſent him from *Ireland*, under the command of Colonel *Cannon*, when he expected three thou-

ſand,

ſand, as I have mentioned,) and forty-five horſe, routed an army of five thouſand men, with Major-general *MacCoy* at their head; took fifteen hundred priſoners, and killed a great number, among whom Colonel *Balfour* was one. *MacCoy* eſcaped, and fled that night twenty-five miles end-ways, to the caſtle of *Drummond*.

But my Lord *Dundee* did not live to ſee himſelf victorious: For, as he was wheeling about a rock, over the enemy's heads, and making down the brae to attack them, (they making a running fire,) he was killed by a random ſhot at the beginning of the action: Yet his men diſcovered not his fall, till they had obtained the victory. The next day, though victorious, they ſuffered their priſoners to depart, on parole, that they would never take up arms againſt King *James*, Colonel *Fergusſon* only excepted, on account of his more than ordinary zeal for the new eſtabliſhment.

King *William*, having heard of this defeat, ſaid, "He knew the Lord *Dundee* ſo well, that he muſt have "been either killed or mortally wounded; otherwiſe, "before that time, he would have been maſter of *Edin-burg*."

I now deſire leave to return to my own affairs. About four months after my examination, I was adviſed, in plain words, by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Queenſberry*, who were then going up to *London*, that I ſhould bribe *Melvil*, then Secretary of *Scotland*; with whom their Graces likewiſe would uſe their intereſt to get an order from King *William* for my *liberty*. But I was ſo far from having money to bribe a courtier of the Secretary's rank, that I had hardly enough to ſupport myſelf; whereupon my noble friend, the Lord *Kilſythe*, who thought himſelf indebted to my fidelity for his life and fortune, was ſo extremely generous, as to make me a preſent of five hundred pounds, which I immediately ſent to *Melvil*; who thereupon, joining his intereſt with the good offices of the two Dukes beforementioned, prevailed with King *William*, to ſend down an order; upon the receipt of which, I was to be ſet at liberty by the council. But they would not obey it, alledging that the King was miſinformed; and, out of the abundance of their zeal, wrote to him, that if Captain

tain *Creichton* ſhould obtain his liberty, he would murder all *Scotland* in one night.

Thus my hope of liberty vaniſhed: For, King *William* ſoon after going to *Flanders*, and not thinking it prudent to diſcredit the repreſentation which the council had made of me, as ſo very dangerous a perſon, left me in the *Tolbooth*; though the two Dukes, out of their great friendſhip, (which I ſhould be moſt ungrateful ever to forget) had both offered to anſwer, body for body, for my peaceable demeanour. But notwithſtanding all this, King *William*, for the reaſon before mentioned, left me priſoner in the *Tolbooth*, as I ſaid; where I continued two years and a half longer, without one penny of money, though not without many friends, whoſe charity and generoſity ſupported me under this heavy affliction.

My wife and two boys, with as many daughters, were in town, all the time of my confinement. The boys died young, but the mother and the two girls lived to endure many hardſhips; having been twice plundered, by the rabble, of the little ſubſtance they had left; however, they and myſelf were ſtill providentially relieved by ſome friend or other; and particularly once by the lady *Carnwath*, (mother of the preſent Earl); who, when we had not one penny left to buy bread, ſent us up a ſack of meal and a baſket of fowl, ſixty miles from *Edinburg*.

My fellow priſoners and I, after the time of our examination by the council, were allowed, for four or five hours every day to converſe with each other, and with our friends: And, when we had been three years in the *Tolbooth*, my companions, being related to the beſt families in the kingdom, were at laſt permitted on bail, to lodge in the city, with a centry at each of their doors. But I was not allowed the ſame favour till two months after, when Duke *Hamilton*, ſtill my friend, with much difficulty and ſtrong application to the council, obtained it for me: And, when the order was at laſt granted, I was at a great loſs to find ſuch a perſon for my bail, whom the council would approve of; till the laird of *Pettincriſe*, a gentleman whom I had never ſeen before, ſent up his name (without any application

plication from me) to the clerk, and was accordingly accepted.

I had not been two months diſcharged out of the *Tolbooth*, and removed to a private lodging in the town, with a centry upon me, when the government, upon ſome pretence or other, filled the caſtle with a great number of perſons of quality; among whom were the Lords *Kilſythe*, *Hume*, and ſeveral others; and the *Tolbooth* again, with as many of inferior note, as it could hold.

In a week, after I had been permitted to live in the city with my family, I found the centry had orders to keep me cloſe, without allowing me to ſtir from my lodgings upon any pretence whatſoever: But when another regiment came to relieve that which was before upon duty, I bribed him who had been my keeper, at his going off, that he ſhould tell the firſt who came in his place, that his orders were to *walk with me to any part of the town I pleaſed*. This was accordingly done, and thence forward, I uſed to take my centry along with me, and viſit my old fellow priſoners, the *Gillicrankymen*, and ſometimes ſtay with them all night; at other times, my friends would do the ſame at my lodgings; among whom the Lord *William Douglaſs* often did me that honour. Nay ſometimes, in company of ſome gentlemen, I would leave the centry drinking with the *foot-men* in an ale-houſe at the back of the town-wall, while we rambled nine or ten miles into the country to viſit ſome acquaintance or other; ſtill taking care to return before two in the afternoon, which was the hour of parade, to ſave the centry from danger.

Thus I ſpent above two months, till the day the government had filled the *Caſtle* and the *Tolbooth* again, as I have mentioned already. As ſoon as I was told of my Lord *Kilſythe's* impriſonment, I knew the danger I was in, and had juſt time to run with the centry to a cellar, where I found twelve officers got together for ſhelter likewiſe from the ſtorm a little before me. We ſtayed there cloſe till night, and then diſpatched my centry, with Captain *Mair's* footman, to the Lady *Lockhart's*, (who was married to the Captain) four miles

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out of town, to let her know, that her husband would be at home that night, with twelve other *Cavaliers*, (for ſo in thoſe days we affected to ſtile ourſelves) to avoid being impriſoned in the *Tolbooth*.

When the meſſage was delivered, the lady ordered three or four of her ſervants to take up the centry four pair of ſtairs, and to ply him well with drink. Accordingly they kept him drunk for twelve days and nights together, ſo that he neither ſaw me, nor I him, in all that time. Two days after we came to Lady *Lockhart's*, I determined, againſt her and her friend's advice, to return privately to *Edinburg*, to diſcourſe with the Laird of *Pettencrife*, my bail: Reſolving at all adventures, that ſo generous a perſon ſhould not be a ſufferer on my account. I accordingly repaired in the night to the ſame ale-houſe at the back of the town-wall, and thence ſent the foot-man who attended me, to bring the Laird thither. He preſently came, with two other gentlemen in his company; and, after drinking together for half an hour, "He bid me go whither I pleaſed, "and God's bleſſing along with me;" whereupon, thruſting me out at the door, in a friendly manner, added, that he would pay the hundred pounds he was bound in to the council, next morning, if demanded of him, which they accordingly did, and the money was paid.

I then returned to the company, at my Lady *Lockhart's*, and thence wrote to the two Dukes before mentioned for their advice, what courſe to take: Their anſwer was, "That, in regard to my poor family, I "ſhould make my eſcape to my own country, and "there ſet *potatoes*, till I ſaw better times." At the end of twelve days, Captain *Mair* and his *eleven friends* got over ſeas to *St. Germains*; when I likewiſe took my leave of them and the Lady, to make the beſt of my way for *Ireland*. But I bethought me of the *poor centry*, (to whom the twelve days, we ſtayed there, ſeemed no longer than two or three, ſo well was he plyed with drink) and calling for him, asked whether he would chuſe to ſhare with me and my fortunes, or go back to the regiment, perhaps to be ſhot for neglect of his duty? He readily anſwered, that he would go with

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me whither ever I went; and not long after we came into *Ireland*, I had the good luck to get him made a ſerjeant of grenadiers, in the regiment formerly commanded by my Lord *Dunbarton*, by a Captain, who was then gone thither for recruits; in which regiment he died a Lieutenant ſome years after.

The lady at parting, made me a preſent of a good horſe, with ten dollars, to bear my charges on the way; and moreover hired a tenant's horſe to carry the centry to the *borders*. I durſt not be ſeen to paſs through *Galloway*, and therefore went by *Carliſle* to *Whiteheaven*. Here I found an acquaintance, who was miniſter of the town, of the name of *Marr*; a gentleman of great worth and learning. Before the *Revolution*, he had been miniſter of a pariſh in *Scotland*, near the *borders*: But about the time of that event, the rabble, as he told me the ſtory came to his houſe in the night to rob and murder him; having treated others of his brethren, the *Epiſcopal Clergy*, before, in that inhuman manner. He was a ſingle man, and had but one manſervant, whoſe buſineſs was to dreſs his meat, and make his bed; and while the villains were breaking into the houſe, he had juſt time to put on his breeches, ſtockings, and ſhoes, and no more; for by that time they were got in; when he thought it better to leap out at the window, but half-cloathed as he was, than to expoſe his life to the fury of ſuch whoſe very mercies might be cruel. Thus he ſaved his life, and made his eſcape to the *Engliſh* ſide, with only four dollars in his pocket; leaving his goods, houſe, and pariſh, as plunder to thoſe ſaints, who, doubtleſs, looked on ſuch as he was, as no other than an uſurper of what, of right, pertained to them; purſuant to the maxim, *That Dominion is founded in Grace.*

And here I beg leave to relate the treatment, which another epiſcopal clergyman received from that tribe, about the ſame time: His name was *Kirkwood*, whom I likewiſe knew, before the *Revolution*, miniſter of a pariſh in *Galloway* in *Scotland*, and afterwards rector in the county of *Fermanah* in *Ireland*. Among other good qualities, this gentleman was a very facetious perſon; and by his preſence of mind, in making uſe of

this talent, he had the good fortune to ſave both his life and goods from the fury of thoſe godly men, who then thought all things their own. When they broke into the houſe, he was in bed; and ſitting up in his ſhirt, deſired leave to ſpeak a few words before he died; which (I cannot tell how it happened) they granted, and he ſpoke to this effect; *That he had always prayed to God, he might die in his bed; adding, that he had in his houſe as good* Ale *and* Brandy, *as was in all* Scotland; *and therefore hoped the* worthy gentlmen *would do him the* honour *to drink with him, before they did any thing* raſhly.

This facetious ſpeech which they little expected from him, in the article of ſo much danger, as then threatened him, had the luck to divert them from their bloody purpoſe, and to make them comply with his requeſt: So that, after drinking plentifully, they ſaid he was an hearty cheel; and left him in quiet poſſeſſion of his houſe and goods. But he durſt not truſt his talent to another trial, leſt the next company might not be influenced as this firſt had been; and therefore, as ſoon as it was day, made off with his family and effects in the beſt manner he could; and reſted not until he was ſafe in *Ireland.*

I could not forbear relating theſe ſtories from the gentlemens own mouths, as I might do others of the ſame kind, upon my own knowledge; although they are contradictory to what the preachers of the new eſtabliſhed kirk have ſo confidently given out. They would fain have the world believe, that they ſhewed great indulgence to the epiſcopal clergy, at the revolution, and for ſeveral years after. But they muſt grant me and others leave not to believe them: Nor ought they to be angry, if I give the reader a further idea of them, and of the ſpirit that reigned in the ſynods, conventions, or general aſſemblies of their kirk.

During my confinement in the *Tolbooth*, a general aſſembly was called; to which my Lord *Lothian*, as I was informed afterwards, was ſent commiſſioner from King *William*. His Lordſhip's inſtructions were, to *ſignify* to them the King's deſire, that as many of the epiſcopal

epiſcopal clergy, as would take the oath of allegiance to him, might keep poſſeſſion of their ſeveral pariſhes. To this the members anſwered in a diſdainful manner, *What! ſhall we ſuffer any ſcabbed ſheep among us? Na, na, nat ane*; and thereupon ſent two of their brethren to King *William*, who was then in *Flanders*, to move him for more favours to the kirk, and power further to oppreſs the epiſcopal clergy. But that prince told them in plain terms, that he had been impoſed upon, in granting to the kirk, the favours ſhe had already got; and withal commanded them, to let the general aſſembly know, that it was his will and pleaſure, that they ſhould live peaceably with thoſe who were willing to live ſo with them; otherwiſe he would make them know that he was their maſter.

With this unwelcome anſwer from King *William*, the two ſpiritual envoys returned to thoſe who ſent them; and at the ſame time, or ſoon after, the Prince diſpatched an order to the commiſſioner to diſſolve the aſſembly, if he found them perſiſting in their ſeverity towards the epiſcopal clergy.

As ſoon as the legates delivered the meſſage, all in the aſſembly began to ſpeak out with the greateſt boldneſs imaginable, ſaying, "That the King durſt not "have ſent them ſuch an anſwer, if he had not an ar-"my at his back." Whereupon the commiſſioner diſſolved the ſynod; and, in the King's name, commanded all the members to depart to their ſeveral homes.

But, inſtead of obeying that order, they all went in a body, with that poor, weak creature, the Lord *Crawford*, at their head, to the *Market-croſs*; and there publiſhed a proteſtation, declaring, that the King had no authority in church-affairs, nor any right to diſſolve their general aſſembly.

I relate this ſtory, as it was told me, not only to give the reader an idea of the ſpirit that reigned in that kirk, eſtabliſhed now in *Scotland*, as I have ſaid, but likewiſe to do juſtice to the memory of King *William*, (which may be the more acceptable, as coming from one who was in a contrary intereſt.) And, indeed, I have ſo good an opinion of that Prince, as to believe he would have acted much better than he did, with re-

gard to the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution in *Scotland*, if he had been permitted to govern by his own opinions.

But now to come to the concluſion of my ſtory. The * *Hollantide* after I arrived in *Ireland*, my wife and two daughters followed me; and we ſettled in the county of *Tyrone* with my father, (who died two years afterwards) on a ſmall freehold; where I have made an hard ſhift to maintain them with induſtry and even manual labour, for about twelve years, till my wife died, and my daughters were married, which happened not very long after I became a widower.

I am at preſent in the eighty-third year of my age, ſtill hated by thoſe people, who affirm the old covenanters to have been unjuſtly dealt with; and therefore believe a great number of improbable ſtories concerning me; as that I was a common murderer of them and their preachers, with many other falſe and improbable ſtories. But the Reader, I hope, from whom I have not concealed any one tranſaction or adventure that happened to me among thoſe rebellious people, or miſrepreſented the leaſt circumſtance, as far as my memory could ſerve me; will judge whether he hath reaſon to believe me to have been ſuch a perſon as they repreſented me, and to hate me as they do upon that account. And my comfort is, that I can appeal from their unjuſt tribunal to the mercy of God; before whom, by the courſe of nature, I muſt ſoon appear, who knows the integrity of my heart, and that my actions (condemned by them) were, as far as my underſtanding could direct me, meant for the good of the church, and the ſervice of my King and country.

And, although ſuch people hate me becauſe they give credit to the falſe reports raiſed concerning me, another comfort left me in my old age is, that I have conſtantly preſerved (and ſtill do ſo) the love and eſteem of all honeſt and good men, to whom I have had the happineſs at any time to be known.

JOHN CREICHTON.

* The feaſt of all Saints.

HINTS

HINTS

TOWARDS

AN ESSAY

ON

CONVERSATION.

I HAVE obſerved few obvious ſubjects to have been ſo ſeldom, or at leaſt ſo ſlightly handled at this; and, indeed, I know few ſo difficult to be treated as it ought, nor yet upon which there ſeemeth ſo much to be ſaid.

Moſt things purſued by men for the happineſs of public or private life, our wit or folly have ſo refined, that they ſeldom ſubſiſt but in idea; a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with ſome others, require ſo many ingredients, ſo good in their ſeveral kinds, and ſo much niceneſs in mixing them, that for ſome thouſands of years men have deſpaired of reducing their ſchemes to perfection: But, in converſation, it is or might be otherwiſe; for here we are only to avoid a multitude of errors, which, although a matter of ſome difficulty, may be in every man's power, for want of which it remaineth as mere an idea as the other. Therefore it ſeemeth to me, that the trueſt way to underſtand converſation, is to know the faults and errors to which it is ſubject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himſelf whereby it may be regulated, becauſe it requireth few talents to

which moſt men are not born, or at leaſt may not acquire without any great genius or ſtudy. For nature hath left every man a capacity of being agreeable, tho' not of ſhining in company; and there are an hundred men ſufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults that they might correct in half an hour, are not ſo much as tolerable.

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this ſubject by mere indignation, to reflect that ſo uſeful and innocent a pleaſure, ſo fitted for every period and condition of life, and ſo much in all men's power, ſhould be ſo much neglected and abuſed.

And in this diſcourſe it will be neceſſary to note thoſe errors that are obvious, as well as others which are ſeldomer obſerved, ſince there are few ſo obvious or acknowledged, into which moſt men, ſome time or other, are not apt to run.

For inſtance: Nothing is more generally exploded than the folly of talking too much; yet I rarely remember to have ſeen five people together, where ſome one among them hath not been predominant in that kind, to the great conſtraint and diſguſt of all the reſt. But among ſuch as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable to the ſober deliberate talker, who proceedeth with much thought and caution, maketh his preface, brancheth out into ſeveral digreſſions, findeth a hint that putteth him in mind of another ſtory, which he promiſeth to tell you when this is done; cometh back regularly to his ſubject, cannot readily call to mind ſome perſon's name, holdeth his head, complaineth of his memory; the whole company all this while in ſuſpence; at length, ſays he, it is no matter, and ſo goes on. And, to crown the buſineſs, it perhaps proveth at laſt a ſtory the company hath heard fifty times before; or, at beſt, ſome inſipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in converſation is, that of thoſe who affect to talk of themſelves: Some, without any ceremony, will run over the hiſtory of their lives; will relate the annals of their diſeaſes, with the ſeveral ſymptoms and circumſtances of them; will enumerate the hardſhips and injuſtice they have ſuffered in court, *in parliament*, in love, or in law. Others are more dexterous,

dexterous, and with great art will ly on the watch to hook in their own praiſe: They will call a witneſs to remember they always foretold what would happen in ſuch a caſe, but none would believe them; they adviſed ſuch a man from the beginning, and told him the conſequences juſt as they happened; but he would have his own way. Others make a vanity of telling their faults: They are the ſtrangeſt men in the world; they cannot diſſemble; they own it is a folly; they have loſt abundance of advantages by it; but, if you would give them the world, they cannot help it; there is ſomething in their nature that abhors inſincerity and conſtraint; with many other unſufferable topics of the ſame altitude.

Of ſuch mighty importance every man is to himſelf, and ready to think he is ſo to others; without once making this eaſy and obvious reflexion, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than their's have with him; and how little that is, he is ſenſible enough.

Where company hath met, I often have obſerved two perſons diſcover by ſome accident, that they were bred together at the ſame ſchool or univerſity, after which the reſt are condemned to ſilence, and to liſten while theſe two are refreſhing each other's memory with the arch tricks and paſſages of themſelves and their comrades.

I know a great officer of the army, who will ſit for ſome time with a ſupercilious and impatient ſilence, full of anger and contempt for thoſe who are talking; at length of a ſudden demand audience; decide the matter in a ſhort dogmatical way; then withdraw within himſelf again, and vouchſafe to talk no more, until his ſpirits circulate again to the ſame point.

There are ſome faults in converſation, which none are ſo ſubject to as the men of wit, nor ever ſo much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths, without endeavouring to ſay a witty thing, they think it is ſo many words loſt: It is a torment to the hearers, as much as to themſelves, to ſee them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual conſtraint, with ſo little ſucceſs. They muſt do ſome-

thing

thing extraordinary, in order to acquit themſelves, and anſwer their character, elſe the ſtanders-by may be diſappointed and be apt to think them only like the reſt of mortals. I have known two men of wit induſtriouſly brought together, in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all the mirth at their own expence.

I know a man of wit, who is never eaſy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preſide; he neither expecteth to be informed or entertained, but to diſplay his own talents. His buſineſs is to be good company, and not good converſation; and, therefore, he chuſeth to frequent thoſe who are content to liſten, and profeſs themſelves his admirers. And, indeed, the worſt converſation I ever remember to have heard in my life, was that at *Will*'s coffee-houſe, where the wits (as they were called) uſed formerly to aſſemble; that is to ſay, five or ſix men, who had writ plays, or at leaſt prologues, or had ſhare in a miſcellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling compoſures in ſo important an air, as if they had been the nobleſt efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them; and they were uſually attended with an humble audience of young ſtudents from the Inns of courts, or the univerſities, who, at due diſtance, liſtened to theſe oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philoſophy, their heads filled with traſh, under the name of politeneſs, criticiſm, and belles lettres.

By theſe means the poets, for many years paſt, were all over-run with pedantry. For, as I take it, the word is not properly uſed; becauſe pedantry is the too frequent or unſeaſonable obtruding our own knowledge in common diſcourſe, and placing too great a value upon it; by which definition, men of the court or the army may be as guilty of pedantry as a philoſopher or a divine; and it is the ſame vice in women, when they are over-copious upon the ſubject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china. For which *reaſon*, although it be a piece of prudence, as well as *good* manners, to put men upon talking on ſubjects

they

they are beſt verſed in, yet that is a liberty a wiſe man could hardly take; becauſe, beſide the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by.

This great town is uſually provided with ſome player, mimick, or buffoon, who hath a general reception at the good tables; familiar and domeſtic with perſons of the firſt quality, and uſually ſent for at every meeting to divert the company; againſt which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppet-ſhow; your buſineſs is only to laugh in ſeaſon, either out of inclination or civility, while this merry companion is acting his part. It is a buſineſs he hath undertaken, and we are to ſuppoſe he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel, when in ſelect and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to paſs an evening, this jeſter ſhould be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for any other converſation, beſides the indignity of confounding mens talents at ſo ſhameful a rate.

Raillery is the fineſt part of converſation; but, as it is our uſual cuſtom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us, ſo we have done with this, and turned it all into what is generally called repartee, or being ſmart; juſt as when an expenſive faſhion cometh up, thoſe who are not able to reach it content themſelves with ſome paltry imitation. It now paſſeth for raillery to run a man down in diſcourſe, to put him out of countenance, and make him ridiculous, ſometimes to expoſe the defects of his perſon or underſtanding; on all which occaſions he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation of not being able to take a jeſt. It is admirable to obſerve one, who is dextrous at this art, ſingling out a weak adverſary, getting the laugh on his ſide, and then carrying all before him. The *French*, from whom we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and ſo had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery was, to ſay ſomething that at firſt appeared a reproach or reflexion, but, by ſome turn of wit unexpected and ſurprizing, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the perſon it

was addreſſed to. And ſurely one of the beſt rules in converſation is, never to ſay a thing which any of the company can reaſonably wiſh we had rather left unſaid; nor can there any thing be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unſatisfied with each other or themſelves.

There are two faults in converſation which appear very different, yet ariſe from the ſame root, and are equally blameable; I mean, an impatience to interrupt others, and the uneaſineſs of being interrupted ourſelves. The two chief ends of converſation are, to entertain and improve thoſe we are among, or to receive thoſe benefits ourſelves; which whoever will conſider, cannot eaſily run into either of thoſe two errors; becauſe when any man ſpeaketh in company, it is to be ſuppoſed he doth it for his hearer's ſake, and not his own; ſo that common diſcretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it; nor, on the other ſide, to interrupt him who is in poſſeſſion, becauſe that is in the groſſeſt manner to give the preference to our own good ſenſe.

There are ſome people, whoſe good manners will not ſuffer them to interrupt you; but, what is almoſt as bad, will diſcover abundance of impatience, and ly upon the watch until you have done, becauſe they have ſtarted ſomething in their own thoughts which they long to be delivered of. Mean time, they are ſo far from regarding what paſſes, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reſerve, for fear it ſhould ſlip out of their memory; and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwiſe range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced.

There is a ſort of rude familiarity, which ſome people, by practiſing among their intimates, have introduced into their general converſation, and would have it paſs for innocent freedom or humour, which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeneſs we have are purely forced by art, and are ſo ready to lapſe into barbarity. This, among the *Romans*, was the *raillery* of ſlaves, of which we have many inſtances in

Plautus.

Plautus. It ſeemeth to have been introduced among us by *Cromwell*, who, by preferring the ſcum of the people, made it a court-entertainment, of which I have heard many particulars; and, conſidering all things were turned upſide down, it was reaſonable and judicious: Although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the ſmalleſt word miſplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel.

There are ſome men excellent at telling a ſtory, and provided with a plentiful ſtock of them, which they can draw out upon occaſion in all companies; and, conſidering how low converſation runs now among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent; however, it is ſubject to two unavoidable defects; frequent repetition, and being ſoon exhauſted; ſo that whoever valueth this gift in himſelf, hath need of a good memory, and ought frequently to ſhift his company, that he may not diſcover the weakneſs of his fund; for thoſe who are thus endowed have ſeldom any other revenue but live upon the main ſtock.

Great ſpeakers in public, are ſeldom agreeable in private converſation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice and often venturing. Natural elocution, although it may ſeem a paradox, uſually ſpringeth from a barrenneſs of invention and of words, by which men who have only one ſtock of notions upon every ſeubject, and one ſet of phraſes to expreſs them in, they ſwim upon the ſuperficies, and offer themſelves on every occaſion; therefore, men of much learning, and who know the compaſs of a language, are generally the worſt talkers on a ſudden, until much practice hath inured and emboldened them; becauſe they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions, and of words, which they cannot readily chuſe, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice, which is no diſadvantage in private converſation; where, on the other ſide, the talent of haranguing is, of all others, moſt inſupportable.

Nothing hath ſpoiled men more for converſation, than the character of being wits; to ſupport which, they never fail of encouraging a number of followers and admirers,

admirers, who liſt themſelves in their ſervice, wherein they find their accounts on both ſides by pleaſing their mutual vanity. This hath given the former ſuch an air of ſuperiority, and made the latter ſo pragmatical, that neither of them are well to be endured. I ſay nothing here of the itch of diſpute and contradiction, telling of lies, or of thoſe who are troubled with the diſeaſe called the wandering of the thoughts, that they are never preſent in mind at what paſſeth in diſcourſe; for whoever labours under any of theſe poſſeſſions, is as unfit for converſation as mad-men in Bedlam.

I think I have gone over moſt of the errors in converſation that have fallen under my notice or memory, except ſome that are merely perſonal, and others too groſs to need exploding; ſuch as lewd or prophane talk; but, I pretend only to treat the errors of converſation in general, and not the ſeveral ſubjects of diſcourſe, which would be infinite. Thus we ſee how human nature is moſt debaſed, by the abuſe of that faculty, which is held the great diſtinction between men and brutes; and how little advantage we make of that which might be the greateſt, the moſt laſting, and the moſt innocent, as well as uſeful pleaſure of life: In default of which, we are forced to take up with thoſe poor amuſements of dreſs and viſiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours, whereby the nobility and gentry of both ſexes are entirely corrupted both in body and mind, and have loſt all notions of love, honour, friendſhip and generoſity; which, under the name of fopperies, have been for ſome time laughed out of doors.

This degeneracy of converſation, with the pernicious conſequences thereof upon our humours and diſpoſitions, hath been owing, among other cauſes, to the cuſtom ariſen, for ſome time paſt, of excluding women from any ſhare in our ſociety, further than in parties at play, or dancing, or in the purſuit of an amour. I take the higheſt period of politeneſs in *England* (and it is of the ſame date in *France)* to have been the peaceable part of King *Charles* the firſt's reign; and from what we read of thoſe times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from ſome who lived in that court,

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the methods then uſed for raiſing and cultivating converſation, were altogether different from ours: ſeveral ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had aſſemblies at their houſes, where perſons of the beſt underſtanding, and of both ſexes, met to paſs the evenings in diſcourſing upon whatever agreeable ſubjects were occaſionally ſtarted; and although we are apt to ridicule the ſublime Platonic notions they had, or perſonated in love and friendſhip, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reaſon, and that a little grain of the romance is no ill ingredient to preſerve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into every thing that is ſordid, vicious and low. If there were no other uſe in the converſation of ladies, it is ſufficient that it would lay a reſtraint upon thoſe odious topics of immodeſty and indecencies, into which the rudeneſs of our northern genius is ſo apt to fall. And, therefore, it is obſerveable in thoſe ſprightly gentlemen about the town, who are ſo very dextrous at entertaining a vizard maſk in the park or the playhouſe, that, in the company of ladies of virtue and honour, they are ſilent and diſconcerted, and out of their element.

There are ſome people who think they ſufficiently acquit themſelves and entertain their company with relating of facts of no conſequence, nor at all out of the road of ſuch common incidents as happen every day; and this I have obſerved more frequently among the *Scots* than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minuteſt circumſtances of time or place; which kind of diſcourſe, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and phraſes, as well as accent and geſture peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much; but to continue it long is certainly one; for, if the majority of thoſe who are got together be naturally ſilent or cautious, the converſation will flag, unleſs it be often renewed by one among them, who can ſtart new ſubjects, provided he doth not dwell upon them, but leaveth room for anſwers and replies.

A SHORT

CHARACTER

Of His Excellency

THOMAS Earl of WHARTON,

Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND.

With an Account of ſome ſmaller Facts during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

London, Aug. 30. 1710.

THE kingdom of *Ireland* being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, ſince the *Engliſh* eſtabliſhment, are uſually digeſted under the heads of the ſeveral governors: But the affairs and events of that iſland, for ſome years paſt, have been either ſo inſignificant, or ſo annexed to thoſe of *England*, that they have not furniſhed matter of any great importance to hiſtory. The ſhare of honour which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turneth all to the article of this kingdom; the reſt, which relateth to politics, or the art of government, is inconſiderable to the laſt degree; however it may be repreſented at Court by thoſe who preſide there, and would value themſelves upon every ſtep they make towards finiſhing the ſlavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of *England*.

Generally ſpeaking, the times which afford moſt plentiful matter for ſtory, are thoſe in which a man would leaſt chuſe to live; ſuch as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one; and laſtly,

the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppreſſing governors. In the war, *Ireland* hath no ſhare but in ſubordination to us; the ſame may be ſaid of their factions, which, at preſent, are but imperfect tranſcripts of ours: But the third ſubject for hiſtory, which is arbitrary power, and oppreſſion; as it is that by which the people of *Ireland* have, for ſome time, been diſtinguiſhed from all her * Majeſty's ſubjects, ſo being now at its greateſt height under his Excellency *Thomas* Earl of *Wharton*, a ſhort account of his government may be of ſome uſe or entertainment to the preſent age, although, I hope, it will be incredible to the next: And, becauſe this account may be judged rather an hiſtory of his Excellency than of his government, I muſt here declare, that I have not the leaſt view to his perſon in any part of it. I have had the honour of much converſation with his Lordſhip, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applauſe, and how inſenſible of reproach: Which is not a humour put on to ſerve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the ſenſe of fame or glory, as ſome men are without the ſenſe of ſmelling; and therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to theſe. Whoever, for the ſake of others, were to deſcribe the nature of a ſerpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, muſt be underſtood to do it without any perſonal love or hatred for the animals themſelves.

In the ſame manner, his Excellency is one whom I neither perſonally love nor hate. I ſee him at Court, at his own houſe, and ſometimes at mine (for I have the honour of his viſits) and when theſe papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occaſion, that he is damnably mauled; and then, with the eaſieſt tranſition in the world, aſk about the weather or time of the day: So that I enter on the work with more chearfulneſs, becauſe, I am ſure, neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happineſs and ſecurity to which his Ex-

* *Queen Anne.*

cellency hath arrived, and which no philoſopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance by firſt giving a character of his Excellency, and then relating ſome facts during his government which will ſerve to confirm it.

I know very well, that mens characters are beſt known from their actions; but theſe being confined to his adminiſtration in *Ireland*, his character may, perhaps, take in ſomething more, which the narrowneſs of the time, or the ſcene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas Earl of *Wharton*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, by the force of a wonderful conſtitution, hath paſſed ſome years, his grand climacteric, without any viſible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and, in ſpite of a continual proſtitution to thoſe vices which uſually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walketh, or whiſtleth, or ſweareth, or talketh bawdy, or calleth names, he acquitteth himſelf in each beyond a templar of three years ſtanding. With the ſame grace, and in the ſame ſtile he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the ſtreet, where he is Governor of the kingdom; and, all this is without conſequence, becauſe it is in his character, and what every body expecteth. He ſeemeth to be but an ill diſſembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he moſt practiſeth, and moſt valueth himſelf upon. The ends he hath gained by lying, appeared to be more owing to the frequency than the art of them. His lies being ſometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of thoſe that hear him to be his enemies, and is ſure they will diſcover them the moment they leave him. He ſweareth ſolemnly he loveth and will ſerve you; and your back is no ſooner turned, but he tells thoſe about him you are a dog and a raſcal. He goeth conſtantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blaſphemy at the chapel-door. He is a preſbyterian in politics, and an atheiſt in religion; but he chuſeth at preſent to whore with a papiſt.

In

In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impoſe on their underſtanding, for which he hath but one receipt, a compoſition of lies and oaths: And this he applieth indifferently to a freeholder of forty ſhillings, and a privy-counſellor; by which the eaſy and the honeſt are often either deceived or amuſed, and either way he gaineth his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, becauſe you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or ſend for you, as if nothing at all had paſſed, lay his hands with much friendſhip on your ſhoulders, and, with the greateſt eaſe and familiarity, tell you that the faction are driving at ſomething in the houſe; that you muſt be ſure to attend, and to ſpeak to all your friends to be there, although he knoweth at the ſame time, that you and your friends are againſt him in the very point he mentioneth: And however abſurd, ridiculous, and groſs this may appear, he hath often found it ſucceſsful, ſome men having ſuch an aukward baſhfulneſs, they know not how to refuſe on a ſudden, and every man having ſomething to hope or fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with perſons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath ſunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom *, and hath raiſed it by going far in the ruin of another †. With a good natural underſtanding, a great fluency in ſpeaking, and no ill taſte of wit, he is generally the worſt companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, ſo that bawdy, prophaneneſs, and buſineſs fill up his whole converſation. To gratify himſelf in the two firſt, he maketh uſe of ſuitable favourites, whoſe talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdneſs that paſſeth in town. As for buſineſs, he is ſaid to be very dextrous at that part of it which turneth upon intrigue, and he ſeemeth to have transferred thoſe talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For as ſome vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of conſequence, will chuſe to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window

* *England.* † Ireland.

at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; ſo his Excellency, either to keep himſelf in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the moſt obſcure, troubleſome, and winding paths, even in the moſt common affairs, thoſe which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of courſe whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoic, and thinks them well recompenced by a return of children to ſupport his family without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant paſſions, which you will ſeldom find united in the ſame man, as ariſing from different diſpoſitions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: Theſe are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleaſure; they ride him ſometimes by turns, and ſometimes all together: Since he went into *Ireland*, he ſeemeth moſt diſpoſed to the ſecond, and hath met with great ſucceſs, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thouſand pounds by the moſt favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuſe or keep a promiſe. But here I deſire to diſtinguiſh between a promiſe and a bargain; for he will be ſure to keep the latter when he has the faireſt offer.

Thus much for his Excellency's character; I ſhall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was Governor of *Ireland*, which were tranſmitted to me by an eminent perſon in buſineſs there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whoſe employment did not ly at his Excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of ſeveral facts independent of each other, I ſhall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correſpondent omitting that circumſtance, and tranſmitting them to me juſt as he recollected them; ſo that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any ſlips I ſhall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas

Thomas Proby, Eſq; Chirurgeon-general of *Ireland*, a perſon univerſally eſteemed, and whom I have formerly ſeen here, had built a country-houſe, half a mile from *Dublin*, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, juſt under his houſe, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, then Lord-Lieutenant, and to the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, for a leaſe of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the Lord Treaſurer here, and ſent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain ſo hard, that the Lord-Treaſurer ſtruck off ſome part of the rent: He had a leaſe granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent; the land might be worth about thirty ſhillings an acre. His Excellency, ſoon after his arrival in *Ireland*, was told of this leaſe, and, by his abſolute authority, commanded Mr *Proby* to ſurrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or elſe muſt have expected to loſe his employment; at the ſame time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he doth it to this day. There are ſeveral circumſtances in this ſtory which I have forgot, having not been ſent to me with the reſt; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who ſome time ago was here.

Upon his Excellency's being declared Lord-Lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr *Lloyd*, fellow of *Trinity-college*, *Dublin*, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the ſacramental teſt, as he did openly in their convocation of which he was a member. The merit of this, and ſome other principles ſuitable to it, recommended by *Tom Broderick*, ſo far ingratiated him with his Excellency, that being provided of a *proper Chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: The doctor attended his Excellency to *Ireland*, and obſerving a caſt wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought by addreſſing there, to have a ſhort open paſſage to preferment. He met with great ſucceſs in his amour; and walking

walking one day with his miſtreſs after my Lord and Lady in the Caſtle-garden, my Lady ſaid to his Excellency, "What do you think? We are going to loſe poor "*Foydy*," a name of fondneſs they uſually gave her. "How do you mean?" ſaid my Lord. "Why, the "doctor behind us, is reſolved to take her from us." "Is he, by G—? "Why then (G—d d——n me) he "ſhall have the firſt biſhoprick that falls*."

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a moſt violent lover, returned with his Excellency for *England*, and ſoon after the biſhoprick of *Corke* falling void, to ſhew he meant fair, he married his damſel publickly here in *London*, and his Excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the biſhoprick; but the matter was reckoned ſo infamous, that both the archbiſhops here, eſpecially his Grace of *York*, interpoſed with the Queen, to hinder ſo great a ſcandal to the church; and Dr *Brown*, Provoſt of *Dublin* college, being then in town, her Majeſty was pleaſed to nominate him; ſo that Dr *Lloyd* was forced to ſit down with a moderate deanry in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a ſweet lady, who brought this her firſt huſband no other portion, than a couple of olive branches for his table, though ſhe herſelf hardly knoweth by what hand they were planted.

The Queen reſerveth all the great employments of *Ireland* to be given by herſelf, though often, by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provoſtſhip of *Dublin* college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr *Brown*; Dr *Benjamin Pratt*, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the Houſe of Commons of that kingdom, as well as domeſtic chaplain to the Duke of *Ormond*, was at that time here, in attendance upon the Duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in *Ireland*, and lived here in a very decent figure: He is a perſon of wit and learning, hath travelled and converſed

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his Excellency, that, talking upon this ſubject, he once ſaid, with great pleaſure, *that he hoped* to make his W——e a B——p.

converſed in the beſt company, and was very much eſteemed among us here when I had the pleaſure of his acquaintance: But he had the original ſin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependent on the Duke of *Ormond*; however he had many friends among the biſhops and other nobility to recommend him to the Queen; at the ſame time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr *Hall*, who had much the advantage of *Pratt* in point of ſeniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himſelf into the world, but lived retired, though otherwiſe ſaid to be an excellent perſon, and very deſerving for his learning and ſenſe: He had been recommended from *Ireland* by ſeveral perſons; and his Excellency, who had never before ſeen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending perſons from this ſide, at laſt ſet up *Hall*, with all imaginable zeal, againſt *Pratt*. I tell this ſtory the more fully, becauſe it is affirmed by his Excellency's friends, that he never made more uſe of his court ſkill, than at this time, to ſtop Dr *Pratt's* promotion, not only from the perſonal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to *Ireland* with ſome little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily ſuffered by many diſappointments, eſpecially that of his chaplain Dr. *Lloyd*. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he uſed to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his Excellency ſo at his levees, who ſometimes could not conceal his ſurprize, and then would promiſe, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himſelf one way or other; theſe were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after ſome expoſtulation between the doctor and his Excellency, and a few additional oaths, that he would never oppoſe him more, his Excellency went immediately to the Biſhop of *Ely*, and prevailed on him to go to the Queen from him, and let her Majeſty know, that he never could conſent, as long as he lived, that Dr *Pratt* ſhould be Provoſt, which the biſhop barely complied with, and delivered his meſſage; though at the ſame time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his Excellency, and gave

him

him thanks for ſo open a proceeding; the affair was now paſt diſſembling, and his Excellency owned he did not oppoſe him *directly* but confeſſed he did it *collaterally*. The doctor a little warmed, ſaid, "No, my Lord, "you mean *directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did." The concluſion was, that the Queen named the doctor to the place; and as a further mortification, juſt upon the day of his Excellency's departure for *Ireland*.

But here I muſt deſire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digeſt the following facts in ſo good a manner as I intended; becauſe it is thought expedient, for ſome reaſons, that the world ſhould be informed of his Excellency's merits as ſoon as poſſible. I will therefore only tranſcribe the ſeveral paſſages as they were ſent me from *Dublin*, without either correcting the ſtyle, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may ſerve for hints to any perſon, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his Excellency's life.

THE Earl of *Rochfort's* regiment of dragoons was embarked for his Majeſty's ſervice abroad, on the 27th of *Auguſt* 1709, and left their horſes behind them, which were ſubſiſted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horſes of Lieutenant-general *Harvey's* regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raiſed, and ſtill commanded by the Duke of *Ormond*; on which occaſion the Duke had her Majeſty's orders only for as much money as would ſupply the charge of the horſes till the regiment was raiſed, which was ſoon after, and then it was put on the eſtabliſhment, as other regiments. But that which was to ſupply the Earl of *Rochfort's* had not a commiſſion granted till the 29th of *April* 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of *Auguſt* to that time (being above 5,700 l.) was taken, under pretence of keeping the horſes, buying new ones in the room of ſuch as ſhould be wanting or unſerviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horſes. As for the laſt uſe, thoſe are always produced out of the funds for providing, cloathing, and the Duke of *Ormond* did ſo: As for *horſes* wanting, they are very few, and the Captains have

have orders to provide them another way; the keeping the horſes did not amount to 700 l. by the accounts laid before the Committee of Parliament: So there was at leaſt 5,000 l. charged to the nation more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs *Lloyd*, at firſt coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of ſelling it for about 200 l. but at laſt was told ſhe muſt expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other ſervants, would deſerve a conſideration for their attendance: Accordingly his Excellency had it brought to him every night; and to make it worth his receiving, my Lady gave great encouragement to play; ſo that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1,000 l. of which a ſmall ſhare was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the reſt made a perquiſite to his Excellency. For Mrs *Lloyd* having an huſband, and a biſhoprick promiſed her, the other pretenſions were cut off.

He met Lieutenant-general *Langſton* in the Court of *Requeſts*, and preſented a gentleman to him, ſaying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells me, he is "a Lieutenant in your regiment; I muſt deſire you "will take the firſt opportunity to give him a troop, "and you will oblige me mightily." The Lieutenant-general anſwered, "He had ſerved very well, and had "very good pretenſions to a troop, and that he would "give him the firſt that fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well ſatisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his Excellency ſaid immediately, "I was forced to ſpeak for him, as a great many of his "friends have votes at elections; but d —n him, he "is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one *M——y* to the Duke of *Ormond*, and recommended him as a very honeſt gentleman, and deſired his Grace would provide for him; which his Grace promiſed. So *M——y* withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, his Lordſhip immediately ſaid to the Duke, "That fellow is the greateſt rogue in *Chriſtendom*."

Colonel *Coward* having received pay, for ſome time, in two or three regiments, as Captain, but never done any other ſervice to the Crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to *Cadiz* under the Duke of *Ormond*, finding

finding he had not pretenſions enough to riſe, after he had ſold the laſt employment he had, applied to his Excellency, who repreſented him in ſuch a light, that he got above 900 l. as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a penſion of 10 s. *per* day; but he, reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body elſe did too much for his pretenſions, gave in a ſecond petition to the Queen for a further addition of 10 s. a day; which being referred to his Excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it it is hoped his merit will be ſtill farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of *Chapel-izod* gate, though he and his wife were each above ſixty years old, without aſſigning any cauſe, and they are now ſtarving.

As for the buſineſs of the Arſenal, it was the product of chance, and never ſo much as thought of by the perſons who of late have given ſo many good reaſons for the building it; till, upon inquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out ſo well, that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds, otherwiſe his Excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: Upon this occaſion many projects were propoſed, all which at laſt gave way to the propoſal of a worthy perſon, who had often perſuaded the nation to do itſelf a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itſelf a little good, which was, that forty thouſand arms ſhould be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arſenals to be built for that purpoſe: This was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his uſual ſincerity, declared he would not conſent to the giving of money for any other uſe; as every body thought, by the words he ſpoke, though afterwards he ſhewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his conſent to the bill, but uſed all the art and induſtry he was maſter of to have it paſs; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arſenal only, and ammunition and other ſtores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arſenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his

his Excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge to the public, and appointed his ſecond ſecretary, Mr *Denton*, to be paymaſter, whoſe ſalary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: Then, thinking this was too ſmall a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an eſtabliſhment for that work, conſiſting of one ſuperintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overſeers at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a week, and ſixteen aſſiſtants at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a week, making in all ſeventeen pounds eight ſhillings a week: And theſe were, for the greater part, perſons who had no knowledge of ſuch buſineſs, and their honeſty was equal to their knowledge, as it hath ſince appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out againſt them; inſomuch that the work they have overſeen, which, with their ſalary, hath coſt near three thouſand pounds, might have been done for leſs than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the uſual method, and was ſo propoſed in the eſtimate. And this is all a certainty, becauſe all that hath been done was only removing earth, which hath been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been ſo agreed for.

Philip Savage, Eſq; as Chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees off the Commiſſioners of the revenue for ſealing writs in the Queen's buſineſs, and ſhewed them for it ſome precedents; but they not being well ſatisfied with them wrote to Mr *South*, one of the Commiſſioners, then in *London*, to inquire the practice there. He ſent them word, upon inquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like caſes; ſo they adjudged it for him, and conſtantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it muſt ly at their door, for he never offered to ſtop the buſineſs; yet his Excellency knew ſo well how to chuſe an attorney and Sollicitor-general, that, when the caſe was referred to them, they gave it againſt the Chancellor, and ſaid he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being a-

bout two hundred pounds *per annum*; but never found any fault in the Commiſſioners, who adjudged the caſe for him, and might have refuſed him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain *Robert Fitzgerald*, father to the preſent Earl of *Kildare*, had a grant from King *Charles* the ſecond, of the office of Comptroller of the muſters, during the lives of Captain *Charles Brabazon*, now Earl of *Meath*, and *George Fitzgerald*, elder brother to the preſent Earl of *Kildare*; which the ſaid *Robert Fitzgerald* enjoyed with a ſalary of three hundred pounds *per annum*; and, after his death, his ſon *George* enjoyed it, ſtill my Lord *Galway* did, by threats, compel him to ſurrender the ſaid patent for a penſion of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the preſent Earl of *Kildare*, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himſelf to be injured by the ſurrender of ſaid patent, which ſhould have come to him, the Earl of *Meath* being ſtill living: Therefore, in order to right himſelf, did petition her Majeſty; which petition, as uſual, was referred to the Earl of *Wharton*, then Lord-lieutenant, who, being at that time in *London*, referred it, according to the common method on ſuch occaſions, to the Lord chancellor and Lieutenant-general *Ingolſby*; the then Lords-juſtices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the Attorney-general to inquire whether the Earl of *Kildare* had any legal title to ſaid patent, which he, in a full report, ſaid he had: And they referred it to the deputy vice treaſurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was uſeful or neceſſary for her Majeſty's ſervice. He gave in his report, and ſaid he thought it both uſeful and neceſſary; and, with more honeſty than wit, gave the following reaſons: Firſt, that the Muſter-maſter-general computed the pay of the whole military liſt, which is above 200,000 *l. per annum*; ſo, having no check on him, might commit miſtakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: And, ſecondly, becauſe he had himſelf found out ſeveral of thoſe miſtakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The Lords-juſtices approved of theſe reaſons, and ſo ſent over their report

to

to my Lord-lieutenant, that they thought the office uſeful and neceſſary: But Colonel *P*———*r*, the Muſter-maſter-general, being then in *London*, and having given my Lord-lieutenant one thouſand pounds for his conſent to enjoy that office, after he had got her Majeſty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troubleſome ſpy upon him; ſo he pleaded the merit of his thouſand pounds, and deſired, in conſideration thereof, that his Excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to ſtrengthen his pretenſions, put my Lady in mind of what money he had loſt to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful ſenſe of benefits received, railed as much againſt the Lords-juſtices report as ever ſhe had done againſt the Tories; and my Lord-lieutenant, prompted by the ſame virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, becauſe he comptrolled it himſelf; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: Although ſince it hath been plainly made appear, that, for want of ſome controul on that office, her Majeſty hath been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk; and that, during the time of his Excellency's government, of which there hath been but a ſmall part refunded, and the reſt hath not been inquired after, leſt it ſhould make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is abſolutely neceſſary.

His Excellency being deſirous, for a private reaſon, to provide for the worthleſs ſon of a worthleſs father, who had lately ſold his company, and, of courſe, all pretenſions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: A Captain in the oldeſt regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with ſervice, deſired leave to ſell, which was granted him; and, accordingly, for a conſideration agreed upon, he gave a reſignation of his company to a perſon approved of by the Commander of the regiment, who, at the ſame time, applied to his Excellency for leave for another Captain of his regiment, who *is an* Engineer in her Majeſty's ſervice *in Spain, and abſent* by her Majeſty's licence: His

Excellency hearing that, ſaid, they might give him a company in *Spain*, for he would diſpoſe of this here; and ſo, notwithſtanding all the Commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly ſurrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a diſputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was ſurrendered. Talking one morning as he was dreſſing (at leaſt a dozen people preſent) of the debates in council, about the affairs of *Trim*, he ſaid the Lord-chief juſtice *Dalbin* had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown ſtripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a——e; and, in leſs than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expreſſion again: Yet, ſome days after, ſent Dr *Lloyd* to aſſure his Lordſhip he ſaid no ſuch thing. Some time after, while he was in *England*, he uſed his utmoſt efforts with the Queen to turn him out, but could not: And when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to ſay to them, particularly to Lord-chief-juſtice *Dalbin*, that perhaps ſome officious perſons might ſpread ſtories that he had endeavoured to do ſome of them a prejudice in *England*, which he aſſured them he never had; but on the contrary would always, without diſtinction, ſhew his regard according to merit; which the Lord-chief-juſtice *Dalbin* was pleaſed to approve of, by ſaying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; although he knew the contrary himſelf.

In *England* he bid Mr *Deering* aſſure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themſelves; with which Mr *Deering* was much pleaſed, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and, as ſoon as his back was turned, he jeeringly ſaid, "*D——n me, how "eaſily he is bit!*" When the Duke of *Ormond* was in the government, he gave to Mr *Anderſon Saunders* the government of *Wicklow* caſtle, which has no ſalary, but a perquiſite of ſome land, worth about 12*l. per annum*, which Mr *Saunders* gave to the free-ſchool of the town; but his Excellency, not liking either the perſon or the uſe, without any ceremony, or reaſon given, ſu-

perſeded

perſeded him, by giving a commiſſion for it to *J——s* the horſe-courſer, who lieth under ſeveral odious and ſcandalous reflexions, particularly of very narrowly eſcaping the gallows for coining. Some time after, his Excellency landing the ſecond time, he ſent for Mr *Saunders*, among others, deſiring their good offices in the enſuing ſeſſion, and that Mr *Saunders* would not take amiſs his giving that place to *J——s*, for he aſſured him he did not know it belonged to him, which is highly probable, becauſe men of his knowledge uſually give away things, without inquiring how they are in their diſpoſal. Mr *Saunders* anſwered him, "He was very glad to find what was done was not "out of any particular diſpleaſure to him; becauſe "Mr *Whitſhed* had ſaid at *Wicklow*, by way of apolo-"gy for what his Excellency had done, that it was "occaſioned by Mr *Saunders* having it; and ſeeing "his Excellency had no ill intention againſt him, was "glad he could tell his Excellency it was not legally "given away, for he had a cuſtodium for the land out "of the Court of exchequer; ſo his Excellency's com-"miſſion could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-general *Echlin* had pay on this eſtabliſhment as brigadier, until the middle of *October*, 1708, when he was removed from it by his Excellency, becauſe his regiment went away at that time, and Lieutenant-general *Gorge* was put in his room. Some time after, Major-general *Rook*, conſidering the reaſon why *Echlin* was removed, concluded, that *Gorge* could not come on, until ſome time in *February* after, becauſe his regiment was alſo out of the kingdom until that time; and therefore, he being the eldeſt General-officer, that had no pay as ſuch, was intitled to the Brigadier's pay, from the time *Echlin* was removed until *Gorge* was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His Excellency, upon hearing the reaſon, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to *Gorge* he ſhould have it, ſo bid him go ſee; which he did, and found it was: Then his Excellency told him he would refer his caſe to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he ſaid muſt needs be in his favour; and, upon

that ground, he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers ſat, he ſent for ſeveral of them, and made them give the caſe againſt *Rook*.

When the proſecution againſt the diſſenting miniſters in *Drogheda* was depending, one *Stevens*, a lawyer in this town of *Dublin*, ſent his Excellency, then in *London*, a petition, in the name of the ſaid diſſenting miniſters, in behalf of himſelf and others who lay under any ſuch proſecution; and, in about a fortnight's time, his Excellency ſent over a letter to the then Lords-juſtices, to give the Attorney and Sollicitor-generals orders to enter a *noli proſequi* to all ſuch ſuits; which was done accordingly, although he never ſo much as inquired into the merits of the cauſe, or referred the petition to any body, which is a juſtice done to all men, let the caſe be never ſo light. He ſaid he had her Majeſty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his Excellency can deſcend to ſmall gains, take this inſtance: There were 850 *l.* ordered by her Majeſty to buy new liveries for the ſtate-trumpets, meſſengers, &c. but, with great induſtry, he got them made cheaper by 200*l.* which he ſaved out of that ſum; and it is reported, that his ſteward got a handſome conſideration beſide from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being ſo alſo to others, bought a Lieutenant's commiſſion in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which ſervice pleaſed his Excellency ſo well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleaſure was known, the former was diſpoſed of.

The Lord-lieutenant hath no power to remove or put in a Sollicitor-general without the Queen's letter, it being one of thoſe employments excepted out of his commiſſion; yet, becauſe Sir *Richard Levinge* diſobliged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr *Forſter*‡, although he had no Queen's

‡ Afterwards Recorder of the city of Dublin, and Lord-chief-juſtice of the common pleas.

Queen's letter for ſo doing; only a letter from Mr Secretary *Boyle*, that her Majeſty deſigned to remove him.

The Privy-council in *Ireland* have a great ſhare of the adminiſtration, all things being carried by the conſent of the Majority, and they ſign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief Governor. But his Excellency diſliked ſo great a ſhare of power in any but himſelf: And when matters were debated in council, otherwiſe than he approved, he would ſtop them, and ſay, "*Come, my Lords, I ſee how your opi-*"*nions are, and therefore I will not take your votes*;" and ſo would put an end to the diſpute.

One of his chief favourites was a ſcandalous clergyman, a conſtant companion of his pleaſures, who appeared publicly with his Excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and ſharer of all the lewd and blaſphemous diſcourſes of his Excellency and his cabal. His Excellency preſented this worthy divine to one of the Biſhops, with the following recommendation: "My Lord, *M*——— is a very honeſt fellow, and hath "no fault but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, although he had been ſo infamous, that a Biſhop in *England* refuſed to admit him to a living he had been preſented to, until the Patron forced him to it by law.

His Excellency recommended the Earl of *Inchiquin* to be one of the Lords Juſtices in his abſence, and was much mortified, when he found Lieutenant-general *Ingoldſby* appointed, without any regard to his recommendation; particularly, becauſe the uſual ſalary of a Lord Juſtice, in the Lord Lieutenant's abſence, is 100*l. per* month, and he had bargained with the Earl for 40*l.*

I will ſend you, in a pacquet or two, ſome particulars of his Excellency's uſage of the convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs *Coningſby*, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magiſtrate in *Trim*, his barbarous injuſtice to Dean *Jephſon* and poor *Will Crow*; his deciding a caſe at hazard to get my Lady twenty guineas, but in ſo ſcandalous and unfair a *manner*, that the arranteſt ſharper would be aſham-

aſhamed of; the common cuſtom of playing on *Sunday* in my Lady's cloſet; the *partie quarree* between her Ladyſhip and Mrs *Lloyd* and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at *Clontarf*, where they uſed to go in a hackney-coach; and his Excellency's making no ſcruple of dining in a hedge-tavern whenever he was invited; with ſome other paſſages which, I hope, you will put into ſome method, and correct the ſtyle, and publiſh as ſpeedy as you can.

Note, Mr. *Savage*, beſides the perſecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a caſe where his Excellency's own friends were of the ſame opinion, until they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his Excellency. *The particulars before-mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I ſhall publiſh them in a ſecond part.*

THE

THE RESOLUTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF St PATRICK.

Mr. *B—ſw—*, ſerjeant at law, and member of parliament, a profeſſed enemy to the clergy, having been reflected on by the Dean, in a humorous poem, intituled, *Brother Proteſtants*, &c. and thinking himſelf highly injured thereby, reſolved to be revenged on Dr *Swift*, as the author of the ſaid poem. With this deſign he engaged his footman and two ruffians to attend him, in order to ſecure the Dean where-ever they met him, until he had gratified his reſentment either by maiming or ſtabbing him. Accordingly, he went directly to the Deanry, and hearing the Dean was at a friend's houſe *, followed him thither, charged him with writing the ſaid verſes, but had not courage enough to put his bloody deſign in execution. However, as he had the aſſurance to relate this affair to ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, the inhabitants of the liberty of St *Patrick*'s waited upon the Dean in form, and preſented the following paper, ſigned by above thirty of them, in the name of themſelves, and the reſt of their neighbourhood, *viz.*

WE

* The Rev. Mr. *John Worrall*'s in Big Ship-ſtreet.

WE the inhabitants of the liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St *Patrick's*, *Dublin*, and the neighbourhood of the ſame, having been informed, by univerſal report, that a certain man of this city hath openly threatened, and ſworn before many hundred people, as well perſons of quality, as others, that he reſolves upon the firſt opportunity, by the help of ſeveral ruffians, to murder or maim the Rev. the Dean of St *Patrick*, our neighbour, benefactor, and head of the liberty of St *Patrick*, upon a frivolous unproved ſuſpicion, of the ſaid Dean's having written ſome † lines in verſe reflecting on the ſaid man.

Therefore we, the ſaid inhabitants of the ſaid liberty, and in the neighbourhood thereof, from our great love and reſpect to the ſaid Dean, to whom the whole kingdom hath ſo many obligations, as well as we of the liberty, do unanimouſly declare, that we will endeavour to defend the life and limbs of the ſaid Dean againſt the ſaid man, and all his ruffians and murderers, as far as the law will allow, if he or any of them preſume to come into the ſaid liberty with any wicked malicious intent againſt the houſe or family, or perſon, or goods of the ſaid Dean. To which we have chearfully, ſincerely, and heartily ſet our hands.

† On the words *Brother-proteſtants* and *fellow-chriſtians*. See that poem vol. *V*.

THE

THE

DEAN's ANSWER.

The Dean being in bed, very much indiſpoſed, and not able to receive the ſaid perſons, dictated the following anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

I Receive, with great thankfulneſs, theſe many kind expreſſions of your concern for my ſafety, as well as your declared reſolution to defend me (as far as the laws of God and man will allow) againſt all murderers and ruffians who ſhall attempt to enter into the liberty, with any bloody or wicked deſigns upon my life, my limbs, my houſe, or my goods. Gentlemen, my life is in the hand of God, and whether it may be cut off by treachery or open violence, or by the common way of other men; as long as it continueth, I ſhall ever bear a grateful memory for this favour you have ſhewn, beyond my expectation, and almoſt exceeding my wiſhes.

The inhabitants of the liberty, as well as thoſe of the neighbourhood, have lived with me in great amity for near twenty years; which I am confident will never diminiſh during my life. I am chiefly ſorry, that, by two cruel diſorders of deafneſs and giddineſs which have purſued me for four months, I am not in condition either to hear, or to receive you, much leſs to return my moſt ſincere acknowledgments, which in juſtice and gratitude I ought to do. May God bleſs you and your families in this world, and make you for ever happy in the next.

AN

AN ACCOUNT OF A MONUMENT

ERECTED to the MEMORY OF

Dr SWIFT in IRELAND.

To Mr George Faulkner.

Neale, Feb. 14. 1750.

SIR,

I Have at laſt finiſhed, what you have often heard me wiſh I might be able to do, a monument for the greateſt genius of our age, the late Dean of St *Patrick*'s. The thing in itſelf is but a trifle; but, it is more than I ſhould ever have attempted, had I not with indignation ſeen a country (ſo honoured by the birth of ſo great a man, and ſo faithfully ſerved by him all his life) ſo long and ſo ſhamefully negligent in erecting ſome monument of gratitude to his memory. Countries are not wiſe in ſuch neglect; for they hurt themſelves. Men of genius are encouraged to apply their talents to the ſervice of their country, when they ſee in it gratitude to the memory of thoſe who have deſerved well of them. The ingenious *Pere Caſtle* told me at *Paris*, that he reckoned it the greateſt misfortune to him that he was not born

an

an Engliſhman; and, when he explained himſelf, it was only for this, that after two hundred years they had erected a Monument to *Shakeſpear*; and, another to a modern, but to the greateſt of them, Sir *Iſaac Newton*. Great ſouls are very diſintereſted in the affairs of life: they look for fame and immortality, ſcorning the mean paths of intereſt and lucre: and, ſurely, in an age ſo mercenary as ours, men ſhould not be ſo ſparing to give public marks of their gratitude to men of ſuch virtue, dead, however they may treat them living; ſince in ſo doing, they beſpeak, and almoſt inſure to themſelves a ſucceſſion of ſuch uſeful perſons in ſociety. It was with this view that I have determined to throw in my mite.

In a fine lawn below my houſe, I have planted an hippodrome. It is a circular plantation, conſiſting of five walks; the central of which is a horſe-courſe, and three rounds make exactly a mile. All the lines are ſo laid out, that, from the centre, the ſix rows of trees appear but one, and form 100 arches round the field; in the centre of which I have erected a mount, and placed a marble column on its proper pedeſtal, with all the decorations of the order; on the ſummit of which I have placed a *Pegaſus*, juſt ſeeming to take flight to the heavens; and, on the dye of the pedeſtal I have engraved the following inſcription, written by an ingenious friend.

In memoriam JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
viri ſine pari.

Aonidum fontes aperis, divine poeta,
Arte nova: æthereas propriis, ut Pegaſus, alis
Scande domos: æternum addet tua fama columnæ
Huic memori decus. Hic, tanti quam poſſumus umbram
Nominis in mentem, ſacro revocare quotannis
Ludorum ritu juvat; hic tibi parvus honorum
Offertur cumulus: laudum quo fine tuarum
Copia claudatur qui quærit, gentis Iernæ
Pectora ſcrutetur, latumque interroget orbem.

1750.

I have alſo appointed a ſmall fund for annual premiums to be diſtributed in the celebration of games at the monument yearly. The ceremony is to laſt three days, beginning the firſt of *May*, yearly. On this day, young maids and men in the neighbourhood are to aſſemble in the hippodrome, with their garlands and chaplets of flowers, and to dance round the monument ſinging the praiſes of this ingenious patriot, and ſtrowing with flowers all the place: after which they are to dance for a prize; the beſt dancer among the maids is to be preſented with a cap and ribbands; and after the dance, the young men are to run for a hat and gloves.

The ſecond day, there is to be a large market upon the ground: and the moſt regular reel and count, is to have a guinea premium; and the perſon who buys the greateſt quantity of yarn, is to have a premium of two guineas.

The third day, the farmer who produces the beſt yearling calf of his own breed, is to have two guineas premium; and he that produces the faireſt colt or filly, of his own breed likewiſe, not over two years old, ſhall receive a premium of two guineas alſo. —— Thus the whole will not exceed ten pounds; and all theſe uſeful branches of our growth and manufacture will be encouraged, in remembring the patron who, with ſo much care and tenderneſs, recommended them to others, and cheriſhed them himſelf.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your humble Servant,

J. B.

LETTERS

LETTERS

OF

DR SWIFT

Relative to Mr FAULKNER.

Some people through ignorance, and others from envy, having been impoſed on, it hath been reported, and even publiſhed, that the Editor of Swift's *Works had not any acquaintance with the author; and particularly Dr* Hawkſworth, *a gentleman of genius and merit, was alſo led into this miſtake by ſome* London *Bookſeller: Mr* Faulkner *is therefore obliged, in vindication of his character, to publiſh ſome of the Dean's letters to him, to convince * the world of the favourable opinion he had of him, and the friendſhip and confidence he was pleaſed to honour him with. The originals of which, and many other letters, may be ſeen with him.*

LETTER I.

To the EARL of OXFORD †.

Dublin, Feb. 16. 1733.

MY LORD,

THE bearer, Mr *Faulkner*, the Prince of *Dublin* Printers, will have the honour to deliver you this. He tells me, your Lordſhip was ſo gracious as to admit him into your preſence, and receive him with great condeſcenſion,

* That this conviction might extend to *England* as well as *Ireland*, we have printed moſt of thoſe letters omitting only two or three which contained nothing material in them. The reſt we have retained, as they are characteriſtic of the Dean and others, and diſplay that life and humour, which give an agreeable colour to all his connexions. *Engliſh Editors.*

† *This Nobleman, Edward Harley*, was only ſon to Robert Lord *High Treaſurer of Great Britain*, who died *May* 21. 1724.

deſcenſion, which encouraged him to hope for the ſame favour again, by my mediation, which I could not refuſe. Although, for his own profit, he is engaged in a work that very much diſcontents me, yet I would rather have it fall into his hands, than any others on this ſide.

I am juſt recovered, in ſome degree, of two cruel indiſpoſitions of giddineſs and deafneſs, after ſeven months. I have got my hearing, but the other evil hangs ſtill about me, and I doubt will never quite leave me, until I leave it.

I hope your Lordſhip, and Lady *Oxford* * and Lady *Margaret* †, continue in perfect health. I pray God preſerve you all, for the good of your friends, and your country.

I am, with entire reſpect and eſteem,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

And moſt obliged Servant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER II.

Mr Faulkner,

WITHOUT the leaſt regard to your wager, I do aſſure you upon my word and reputation, that I am not author of one ſingle line or ſyllable of that pamphlet, called, *An infallible Scheme to pay the Debts of the Nation*; and, as it is a very unjuſt, ſo it is equally an imprudent and fallible proceeding, to pronounce determinately, on our taſte and knowledge of ſtyle or manner of writing, where very good judges are often deceived; and in this caſe, few men have ſuffered ſo much as myſelf, who have born the reproach of many

* Lady *Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles*, only daughter and heir of his Grace *John Holles*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, was married to his Lordſhip the 31ſt of *October* 1713.

† This Lady was married to *William* Bentinck Duke of Portland, *July* 11. 1734.

ny hundred printed papers which I never ſaw. I do likewiſe proteſt in the ſame manner, that I did not write the epigram upon *Taylor* *, nor heard of it until Mr *Pilkington* ſhewed it me in manuſcript. Therefore, pray deſire your wagerer from me, to be more cautious in determining on ſuch matters, and not to venture the loſs of his money and credit with ſo much odds againſt him.

I am,

Your affectionate Servant,

Deanry-houſe,
Mar. 29. 1732.

J. SWIFT.

If this fancy ſhould hold of taxing me with all papers that come out, and at the ſame time I ſhould take a fancy to be a writer, I ſhall be diſcovered when I have no mind, for it will be only to catechiſe me whenever I am ſuſpected.

LETTER III.

MR FAULKNER,

I DESIRE Mrs *Pilkington* will deliver you the papers relating to *Gulliver*, which I left with her huſband. For, ſince you intend to print a new edition of that book, I muſt tell you, that the *Engliſh* printer made ſeveral alterations which I much diſapprove of, and cannot ſet them right without thoſe papers.

If I am not miſtaken, Mr *Pilkington* hath an edition of *Gulliver*, where the true original copy is interleaved in manuſcript: I deſire I may alſo ſee that book.

I am,

Your humble Servant,

June 29. 1733.

J. SWIFT.

* The famous Oculiſt.

LETTER IV.

To his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Caſhel.* *

Dublin, Auguſt 14. 1735.

My Lord,

THE bearer, Mr *Faulkner*, our famous printer, goes in an hour to ſee *Kilkenny* and *Caſhell*, to gather up his country-debts. Ten to one your Grace may owe him a dozen ſhillings, and your town-coffee-houſe (if you have one) a dozen more. But, his pretences to me for writing, are the honour of being admitted to your Grace by a line in my hand. I am not in fear of his ſhaming me as others have done; however, I would not have you leave your manuſcripts ſcattered about your room, for he would be terribly tempted to beg them, and return them back next winter in four volumes, as he ſerved me; although I never let him touch or ſee one. He has the name of an honeſt man, and hath good ſenſe and behaviour. I have ordered him to mark narrowly whatever you are doing, as a prelate, an architect, a country gentleman, a politician, and an improver; and to bring me a faithful account when he returns; but chiefly about your health, and what exerciſe you make uſe of to increaſe or preſerve it. But he is in haſte to be gone, and I am forced to conclude.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

LET-

* Dr Theophilus Boket.

LETTER V.

To the Right Honourable Lord *Howth.*

Dublin, Auguſt 14. 1735.

MY LORD,

THE bearer, Mr *Faulkner*, came to me juſt an hour before he was taking a journey to *Kilkenny* and *Caſhell*, and deſired I would write by him to your Lordſhip, and the Archbiſhop, only to let your Lordſhip know, that he is an honeſt man, and the chief printer, and that I know him and treat him with indulgence becauſe I cannot help it. For although he printed what I never would have done, yet he got the conſent of my friends, and ſo I ſhall get nothing by being angry with him. He hopeth, as a citizen, to be admitted to you Lords and Ladies in the country, and I am contented you ſhall make him welcome; but take care you put no manuſcripts in his hands; otherwiſe, perhaps there will be the works of the Right Hon. *&c.* and of my Lady, and the Giant * neatly bound next winter. My Lady *Acheſon* hath not been well ſince ſhe left the town; but her mother is almoſt perfectly cured, except the loſs of her eye. I owe my Lady *Howth* a letter I believe. I deſire my moſt humble ſervice to her and the Giant. I have time to ſay no more, but, that I am,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER VI.

MR FAULKNER,

I AM anſwering a letter I had from Mr *Pope*, when I was at *Cavan*. My abſence and ſickneſs, ſince I retired, have hindered me from writing to him. He complains of his unluckineſs that you could never find him at home, which, he ſays, ſince his mother's death, he

* *A very* tall young Lady, nearly related to Lord Howth.

he is often abſent from. I here will tranſcribe a paragraph which relates to you, and I deſire you will return an anſwer to it, time enough for me to ſend a letter to-night, and I will inſert the ſum of it.

"As to his (Mr *Faulkner*'s) deſign about my works, I beg you will deſire him to poſtpone it, until he ſees the duodecimo edition of them here, with the firſt volume publiſhed by *Lintot*: for, that joined to the reſt by *Gilliver**, will make the compleateſt hitherto extant, and is reviſed by me. I gueſs they will be out about *Chriſtmas*."

Pray let me know what anſwer I ſhall make to Mr *Pope*; write it down and ſend it by any meſſenger, the ſooner the better, for I am an ill writer at night.

I am, yours, &c.

Jan. 8. 1735-6.

J. SWIFT.

I think you may ſend your anſwer by the bearer, for it need not take above two lines.

LETTER VII.

To Mr *Benjamin Motte*, Bookſeller in *London*.

Dublin, May 25. 1736.

SIR,

I Lately received a long letter from Mr *Faulkner*, grievouſly complaining upon ſeveral articles of the ill treatment † he hath met with from you, and of the many advantageous offers he hath made you, with none of which you thought fit to comply. I am not qualified to judge in the fact, having heard but one ſide; only one thing I know, that the cruel oppreſſions of this kingdom by *England* are not to be born. You ſend what books you pleaſe hither, and the bookſellers here can ſend nothing to you that is written here. As this

* *Lawton* Gilliver, a Bookſeller.

† *Motte* filed a bill in Chancery in England, againſt Faulkner for printing *Swift*'s works, to ſtop the ſale of them there, which made the author write this letter.

this is abſolute oppreſſion, if I were a bookſeller in this town, I would uſe all the ſafe means to reprint *London* books, and run them to any town in *England* that I could; becauſe, whoever neither offends the laws of God, or the country he liveth in, committeth no ſin It was the fault of you and other bookſellers, who printed any thing ſuppoſed to be mine, that you did not agree with each other to print them together, if you thought they would ſell to any advantage. I believe I told you long ago, that Mr *Faulkner* came to me, and told me his intention to print every thing that my friends told him they thought to be mine, and that I was diſcontented at it; but when he urged, that ſome other bookſeller would do it, and that he would take the advice of my friends, and leave out what I pleaſed to order him, I ſaid no more, but that I was ſorry it ſhould be done here.——But, I am ſo incenſed againſt the oppreſſions from *England*, and have ſo little regard to the laws they make, that I do, as a clergyman, encourage the merchants both to export wool and woolen manufactures to any country in *Europe*, or any where elſe; and conceal it from the cuſtom-houſe-officers, as I would hide my purſe from a highwayman, if he came to rob me on the road, although *England* hath made a law to the contrary*: and ſo I would encourage our bookſellers here to ſell your authors books printed here, and ſend them to all the towns in *England*, if I could do it with ſafety, and profit; becauſe, (I repeat it) it is no offence againſt God or the laws of the country I live in. Mr *Faulkner* hath dealt ſo fairly with me, that I have a great opinion of his honeſty, although I never dealt with him as a printer or a bookſeller, but ſince my friends told me, thoſe things, called mine, would certainly be printed by ſome hedge-bookſeller, I was forced to be paſſive in the matter. I have ſome † things which I ſhall leave my executors to publiſh after my deceaſe, and have directed that they ſhall be printed in *London*.

* This we apprehend is better patriotiſm, than good caſuiſtry; but perhaps we too are prejudiced in our turns, by the Dean's own principle. *The Engliſh Booksellers.*

† Directions to ſervants; and the hiſtory of the laſt ſeſſion of *Queen Anne*; *and the peace of Utrecht*, both ſince printed by *Faulkner.*

London. For, except ſmall papers, and ſome treatiſes writ for the uſe of this kingdom, I always had thoſe of importance to be publiſhed in *London*, as you well know. For my own part, although I have no power any where, I will do the beſt offices I can to countenance Mr *Faulkner*. For, although I was not at all pleaſed to have that collection printed here, yet none of my friends adviſed me to be angry with him, although if they had been printed in *London* by you and your partners, perhaps I might have pretended to ſome little profit. Whoever may have the hazard or advantage of what I ſhall leave to be printed in *London* after my deceaſe, I will leave no other copies of them here; but if Mr *Faulkner* ſhould get the firſt printed copy, and reprint it here, and ſend his copies to *England*, I think he would do as right as your *London* bookſellers who load us with yours. If I live but a few years, I believe I ſhall publiſh ſome things that I think are important; but, they ſhall be printed in *London*, although Mr *Faulkner* were my brother. I have been very tedious in telling you my thoughts on this matter, and ſo I remain,

Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER VIII.

To the Right Worſhipful the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-council of the city of *Corke*.

Deanry-houſe, Dublin, Aug. 15. 1737.

Gentlemen,

I Received from you ſome weeks ago, the honour of my freedom in a ſilver box, by the hands of Mr *Standard* †; but it was not delivered to me in as many weeks

† *Eaton Standard*, Eſq; then Recorder of *Dublin*, and afterwards made his Majeſty's prime ſerjeant at law, in the room of *Anthony Malone*, Eſq; ſince promoted to the Chancellorſhip of the exchequer.

weeks more; becauſe I ſuppoſed he was too full of more important buſineſs. Since that time, I have been wholly confined by ſickneſs, ſo that I was not able to return you my acknowledgment; and it is with much difficulty I do it now, my head continuing in great diſorder. Mr *Faulkner* will be the bearer of my letter, who ſets out this morning for *Corke*.

I COULD have wiſhed, as I am a private man, that in the inſtrument of my freedom, you had pleaſed to aſſign your reaſons for making choice of me. I know it is a uſual compliment to beſtow the freedom of the city on an Arch-biſhop or Lord-chancellor, and other perſons of great titles, merely upon account of their ſtations or power: but a private man, and a perfect ſtranger, without power or grandeur, may juſtly expect to find the motives aſſigned in the inſtrument of his freedom, on what account he is thus diſtinguiſhed. And yet I cannot diſcover in the whole parchment ſcrip any one reaſon offered. Next, as to the ſilver ‡ box, there is not ſo much as my name upon it, nor any one ſyllable to ſhew it was a preſent from your city. Therefore, I have, by the advice of friends, agreeing with my own opinion, ſent back the box, and inſtrument of freedom by Mr *Faulkner*, to be returned to you; leaving to your choice, whether to inſert the reaſons for which you were pleaſed to give me my freedom, or beſtow the box upon ſome more worthy perſon, whom you may have an intention to honour, becauſe it will equally fit every body.

I am, with true eſteem

And gratitude, Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient, and

Obliged Servant,

JON. SWIFT.

LET-

‡ In conſequence of this letter there was an inſcription, and the city arms of *Corke*, engraved on the box, and reaſons in the parchment ſcrip for preſenting him with the freedom of that city.

LETTER IX.

To Mr FAULKNER.

Deanry-house, Dublin, Jan. 6. 178·

SIR,

I Have often mentioned to you an earneſt deſire I had and ſtill have, to record the merit and ſervices of the Lord Mayor, *Humphrey French*, whom I often deſired, after his mayoralty, to give me an account of many paſſages that happened in his mayoralty, and which he as often put off on the pretence of his forgetfulneſs, but in reality of his modeſty: I take him to be a hero in his kind, and that he ought to be imitated by all his ſucceſſors, as far as their genius can reach; I deſire you therefore to inquire among all his friends whom you are acquainted with, to preſs them to give you the particulars of what they can remember, not only during the general conduct of his life, wherever he had any power or authority in the city; but, particularly, from Mr *Maple*, who was his intimate friend, who knew him beſt, and could give the moſt juſt character of himſelf and his actions.

When I ſhall have got a ſufficient information of all theſe particulars, I will, although I am oppreſſed with age and infirmities, ſtir up all the little ſpirit I can raiſe, to give the public an account of that great patriot; and propoſe him as an example to all future magiſtrates, in order to recommend his virtues to this miſerable kingdom.

I am,

SIR,

Your very humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

Mrs.

Mrs *Cæſar*, wife of *Charles Cæſar*, Eſq; member of parliament for the borough of *Hertford*, who was committed to the tower of *London*, *Dec.* 19. 1705, for ſome reflections in the houſe of commons, on the Earl of *Godolphin*, then Lord High Treaſurer of *England*. In 1711, Mr *Cæſar* was appointed treaſurer of the navy in the room of Robert Walpole, Eſq; afterwards a Knight of the Garter, who was created Earl of *Orford* in *February* 9. 1741. This Lady was alſo mother to *Julius Cæſar*, a brave ſoldier, now a general in the ſervice of His Britannic Majeſty in *Germany*, *April* 1762. The Dean correſponded with this Lady, who was remarkable for her good ſenſe, friendſhip, and politeneſs, and much eſteemed by the nobility and gentry, and all people of taſte, genius, and learning, and therefore imagine the following letters will be acceptable.

LETTER X.

To Mrs CAESAR.

MADAM,

AMONG a few little vexations, ſuch as beggary, ſlavery, corruption, ignorance, want of friends, faction, oppreſſion, and ſome other trifles of the like nature, that we philoſophers ought to deſpiſe; two or three ladies of long acquaintance, and at a great diſtance, are ſtill ſo kind as to remember me, and I was always proud and pleaſed to a great degree, that you happened to be one, ſince conſtancy is, I think, at leaſt as ſeldom found in friendſhip as in love. Mrs *Barber*, when I ſee her, is always telling me wonders of the continual favours you have conferred on her, and that without your interpoſition, the ſucceſs of her errand would have hardly been worth the journey; and I muſt bear the load of this obligation without the leaſt poſſibility of ever returning it, otherwiſe than by my beſt wiſhes for the proſperity and health of you and your family: For, in ſpight of all your good words, I am the moſt inſignificant man of this moſt inſignificant country. I have been tied by the leg (without being married) for ten

months paſt, by an unlucky ſtrain, which prevented the honour and happineſs I propoſed to myſelf of waiting on you oftener during this laſt ſummer: and another year at my period of life is like an inch in a man's noſe; yet, I flatter myſelf, that next ſpring I may take one voyage more, when you will ſee me altered in every diſpoſition of body and mind, except in my reſpects for you and all that belong to you. There is one part of Mr *Pope*'s compliment which I cannot make you, for I could not with the ſtricteſt ſearch find one letter too many in any of your words, although I found a thouſand words too few in your letter; therefore I accepted and underſtood it only as a billet juſt writ while Mrs *Barber* ſtood by in her hood and ſcarff juſt ready to take her leave and begin her journey: and, what is worſe, I ſuſpect that ſhe was forced to ſollicite you long, becauſe ſhe wanted a certificate under your hand to convince me that ſhe was not an impoſtor.

I will not ſay one word in Mrs *Barber*'s behalf, for ſhe will always continue to deſerve your protection; and therefore ſhe may be ſure you will always continue to give it her.

I hope Mr *Cæſar* is in good health, and deſire he will accept the offer of my moſt humble ſervice, with my hearty wiſhes for your whole family.

I am, with true reſpect,
Madam,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
Jonathan Swift.

LETTER. XI.

To Mrs Cæsar.

Madam, *Dublin, July* 30. 1733.

I Could not let Mrs *Barber* leave us for good and all without honouring her with the carriage of a letter from your old humble ſervant and conſtant lover: ſhe *hath* been afflicted with ſo many repetitions of the gout,

that

that her limbs are much weakened, and her ſpirits ſunk; neither can I well blame her, conſidering her grand affair of ſubſcriptions muſt needs have ſlackened in her abſence. Neither could ſhe be in much diſpoſition to increaſe her volumes, for health, and good humour are two ingredients abſolutely neceſſary in the poetical trade; but, I hope your countenance and protection will recover her ſpirits, and her hopes, and her genius. I imagine ſhe looks on you as her chief patroneſs; becauſe, although ſhe be abundantly grateful to all her protectors; yet, I obſerve your name moſt often in her mouth. I wiſh it were in my power to take the ſame journey; but neither my health, nor the bad ſtate of my private affairs will give me power or leave: I cannot make ſhift, nor bear fatigues as I uſed to do. To live in *England*, half as tolerably as I do here, would ruin me. I muſt have two ſervants and three horſes, and dare drink nothing but wine; and my ragged church-rents would never be paid in my abſence. My Lord *Bollingbroke* and Mr *Pope* preſs me with many kind invitations, but the former is too much a philoſopher; he dines at ſix in the evening; after ſtudying all the morning until the afternoon; and, when he hath dined, to his ſtudies again. Mr *Pope* can neither eat nor drink, loves to be alone, and hath always ſome poetical ſcheme in his head. Thus the two beſt companions and friends I ever had, have utterly diſqualified themſelves for my converſation, and my way of living. Mr *Pope*, who had often promiſed to paſs a ſummer-ſeaſon with me here, if he out-lived his mother, ſoon after her death waved the faireſt opportunity of performing his promiſe two months ago, of coming over with eaſe, and in company of Dean *Cotterel** and his ſiſter; he ſaid we ſhould kill him with eating and drinking. I had a very convenient apartment for him in the *Deanery-houſe*: He would have all the civilities of this town; and Mrs *Barber* will tell you that we never want a dozen or more of very valuable perſons, and of both ſexes, with whom to converſe; I chid him ſoundly in my laſt letter for his want of friendſhip or reſolution. You ſee, Madam, I am full of talk;

* Afterwards biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns.

but you are to blame, for I imagine myſelf in your company, which is indeed no great compliment; and upon ſecond thoughts, it is not true, for I ſhould be much better pleaſed to be your hearer. However, I ſhould certainly aſk you a thouſand queſtions concerning yourſelf, and Mr *Cæſar*, and your whole family. I have received ſo much friendſhip and ſo many civilities from you both, that I ſhall ever own my obligations; which are much increaſed by Mrs *Barber*'s feeding my vanity, with telling me, that you did not receive her worſe for her being recommended by me; yet I confeſs, her expreſſions were in ſomewhat ſtronger terms. Pray *God* bleſs you and your whole family. I deſire you will preſent my moſt humble ſervice to Mr *Cæſar*.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
Madam,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt obliged, humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

The following letter to the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity of *Dublin*, plainly ſhews the author's friendſhip to gentlemen of genius and learning, although unacquainted with them; but ſoon after this, Mr *Dunkin* was introduced to the Dean, who did him further ſervices, by recommending him to Dr *Bolton* archbiſhop of *Caſhel*, who ordained him for holy orders.

LETTER XII.

To the Provoſt and Senior Fellows of Trinity-College, DUBLIN.

Rev. and worthy SIRS, *July* 5. 1736.

AS I had the honour of receiving ſome part of my education in your univerſity, and the good fortune to be of ſome ſervice to it, while I had a ſhare of credit at court, as well as ſince, when I had very little or none, I may hope to be excuſed for laying a caſe before you, and offering my opinion upon it.

Mr

Mr *Dunkin*, whom you all know, ſent me ſome time ago a memorial intended to be laid before you, which, perhaps he hath already done. His requeſt is, that you would be pleaſed to enlarge his annuity at preſent, and that he may have the ſame right in his turn, to the firſt church-preferment, vacant in your gift, as if he had been made a fellow, according to the ſcheme of his aunt's will; becauſe the abſurdity of the condition in it, ought to be imputed to the old woman's ignorance, although her intention be very manifeſt, and the intention of the teſtator in all wills is chiefly regarded by the law. What I would therefore humbly propoſe is this, that you would increaſe his penſion to one hundred pound a year, and make him a firm promiſe of the firſt church-living in your diſpoſal, to the value of two hundred pounds a year, or ſomewhat more. This I take to be a reaſonable medium between what he hath propoſed in his memorial, and what you allow him at preſent.

I am almoſt a perfect ſtranger to Mr *Dunkin*, having never ſeen him above twice, and then in mixed company, nor ſhould I now know his perſon if I met him in the ſtreets. But I know he is a man of wit and parts; which, if applied properly to the buſineſs of his function, inſtead of poetry, (wherein it muſt be owned he ſometimes excells), might be of great uſe and ſervice to him.

I hope you will pleaſe to remember, that ſince your body hath received no inconſiderable benefaction from the aunt, it will much increaſe your reputation, rather to err on the generous ſide, towards the nephew.

Theſe are my thoughts after frequently reflecting on the caſe under all its circumſtances, and ſo I leave it to your wiſer judgments.

I am, with true reſpect and eſteem,
Reverend and worthy Sirs,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

Deanery-Houſe,
July 5. 1736.

LETTERS

FROM

DR. SWIFT to DR. NARCISSUS MARSH.

Lord PRIMATE and ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN.

LETTER I.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 4. 1710.

I AM moſt unhappily engaged this night, where I cannot write to your Grace ſo long a letter as I intended; but I will make it up in a poſt or two. I have only now to tell you, that Mr. *Harley* hath given me leave to acquaint my Lord Primate and your Grace, that the Queen hath granted the firſt-fruits and twentieth parts to the clergy of *Ireland*. It was done above a fortnight ago; but I was then obliged to keep it a ſecret, as I hinted to your Grace in my laſt letter. He hath now given me leave to let your Grace and my Lord Primate know it, only deſires you will ſay nothing of it until a letter cometh to you from my Lord *Dartmouth*, ſecretary of ſtate. All I know yet is, that the biſhops are to be made a corporation for the diſpoſal of the firſt-fruits, and that the twentieth parts are to be remitted. I will write to your Grace the particulars of my negotiation, and ſome other amuſements, very ſoon. I humbly beg your Grace to acquaint my Lord Primate with this. I had your Grace's letter laſt poſt, and you will now ſee, that your letters to the Archbiſhop here are unneceſſary. I was a little in pain about the Duke of *Ormond*, who I feared might interpoſe in this matter, and be angry it was done without him: but Mr. *Harley* hath very kindly taken this matter upon himſelf. It was yeſterday I dined with him, and he told me all this; and to-morrow I dine with him again, where I may hear

hear more. I ſhall obey your Grace's directions whether my ſtay here be further neceſſary, after you have had the letter from the Secretary's office. I know not what it will be; but, if any forms remain to finiſh, I ſhall be ready to aſſiſt in it as I have hitherto done. I have all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with Mr. *Harley*'s conduct in this whole affair. In three days he ſpoke of it to the Queen, and gave her my memorial, and ſo continued until he got her grant. I am now in much company, and ſteal this time to write to your Grace. The Queen was reſolved to have the whole merit of this affair to herſelf. Mr *Harley* adviſed her to it, and next to her Majeſty, he is the only perſon to be thanked. I ſuppoſe it will not be many days before you have the letter from my Lord *Dartmouth*, and your Grace will afterwards ſignify your commands, if you have any, for me. I ſhall go to the office, and ſee that a diſpatch be made as ſoon as poſſible. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER II.

My Lord, *London, Nov.* 23. 1710.

I Had your Grace's letter not until this day: whether it lay in the ſecretary's office, or was kept by the wind, I cannot tell; but I would have expoſed it immediately whenever it had come. Mr *Southwell* told me two days ago of the letter your Grace mentions, which ſurpriſed me a good deal, when I remembered I had writ to your Grace three weeks ago, that the Queen had abſolutely granted the firſt-fruits and twentieths, and that Mr *Harley* had permitted me to ſignify the ſame to the Primate and your Grace. Perhaps that letter might not have reached your Grace before that reſolution of ſending the Duke of *Ormond*; but however, I gave you ſuch an account of my reception from Mr Harley,

Harley, and his readineſs to undertake this affair, and what ſteps he had already made in it, as I thought would have given you ſome ſight in what way the buſineſs was; but Mr *Harley* charged me to tell no body alive, what the Queen had reſolved on, till he gave me leave; and, by the concluſion of a former letter, your Grace might ſee you were to expect ſome further intelligence very ſoon. Your Grace may remember, that upon your telling me how backward the biſhops were in giving me a power, I was very unwilling to go at all, and ſent the Dean of *St Patrick's* * to tell you ſo; but you thought I could not handſomely put it off, when things were gone ſo far. Your objection then about the diſadvantage I lay under in point of party, I know well enough how to anſwer, otherwiſe nothing ſhould have prevailed on me to come hither; and if my Lords the Biſhops doubt whether I have any credit with the preſent miniſtry, I will, if they pleaſe, undo this matter in as little time as I have done it. I did reckon your Grace underſtood and believed me in what I ſaid; and I reckon ſo ſtill, but I will not be at the pains of undeceiving ſo many I never propoſed to myſelf either credit or profit by my labour, but the ſatisfaction of doing good, without valuing whether I had the merit of it or no. But the method now taken was the likelieſt way to ſet all things backward if it were not paſt danger. It ſhall be my buſineſs (until my Lords the Biſhops forbid me to engage further) to prevent any miſunderſtanding with Mr *Harley* by this ſudden ſtep. The thing was all done before the Duke of *Ormond* was named for lord lieutenant, ſo there was no affront at all to him; and Mr *Harley* told me more than once, that ſuch an intereſt was the propereſt, becauſe he thought the Queen herſelf ſhould have the doing it: but I ſaid a great deal of this in former letters. If your Grace hath any commands for me of your own, I ſhall obey them with all chearfulneſs, being with great reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

* Dr Sterne, afterwards biſhop of Clogher.

LETTER III.

My Lord, *London, November* 28. 1710,

A Day or two after I received your Grace's letter of the 2d inſtant, I dined with Mr *Southwell*, who ſhewed me the letter of the Biſhops to the Duke of *Ormond*, and another letter from the Biſhop of *Kildare* to Mr *Southwell*, to deſire him to get the papers from me, which I ſhall ſend him as ſoon as I have looked them out. Mr *Southwell* ſaid, that a month or two hence, when the Duke began to think of this journey, it would be time enough to ſollicit this affair. Upon this I told him frankly, that the Queen had already granted the firſt-fruits, and that I had writ to your Grace by Mr *Harley*'s directions, but that my letter did not reach you until your's was ſent to the Duke and him; and that therefore I thought it would be a very odd ſtep to begin again. He ſaid, he was glad it was done, and that he did not deſign to take any of the credit from me, *&c.* I told him ſincerely it was what I did not regard at all, and provided the church had the benefit, it was indifferent to me how it came about, and ſo we parted. I had told the Duke of *Ormond* at firſt, that I would apply myſelf to Mr *Harley*, if his Grace adviſed it, which he did; and I afterwards told Mr *Southwell*, that Mr *Harley* had been very kind in promiſing his good offices: further I durſt not ſpeak, being under an engagement of ſecrecy to Mr *Harley*, and the whole thing was done before the Duke was declared lord lieutenant. If your Grace conſiders the time you ſent me the paper, you will judge what diſpatch was made; in two days after, I delivered a memorial I drew up to Mr *Harley*, and in leſs than a fortnight he had treated the matter four times with the Queen, and then told me ſhe had granted it abſolutely as my memorial deſired, but charged me to tell no man alive, and your Grace may remember that one of my letters ended with ſomething as if I were limited, and would ſay more in a ſhort time. In about a week after I had leave to inform the Primate and

and your Grace, as I did in my letter of the 4th inſtant. It is to be conſidered, that the Queen was all this while at *Hampton Court* or *Windſor*; ſo that I think the diſpatch was very great. But, indeed, I expected a letter would have been ſent from the ſecretary's office, to ſignify this matter in due form; and ſo it will. But Mr *Harley* had a mind firſt to bring me to the Queen, for that and ſome other matters; and ſhe came to town not a week ago, and was out of order one day when it was deſigned I ſhould attend her; and, ſince, the parliament's beginning hath taken her up: but, in a few days, Mr *Harley* tells me he will introduce me. This I tell your Grace in confidence, only to ſatisfy you in particular why the Queen hath not yet ſent a letter in form. Upon that diſpatch to Mr *Southwell*, I was perplexed to the laſt degree. I did not value the ſlighting manner of the Biſhop of *Kildare*'s * letter, barely deſiring Mr *Southwell* † to call on me for the papers, without any thing further, as if I had been wholly inſignificant; but I was at a loſs how to behave myſelf with the Duke and Mr *Harley*. I met the latter yeſterday in the court of requeſts, and he whiſpered me to dine with him. At dinner I told him of the diſpatch to Mr *Southwell*, and rallied him for putting me under difficulties with his ſecrets; that I was running my head againſt a wall; that he reckoned he had done the church and me a favour; that I ſhould diſoblige the Duke of *Ormond*; and that the Biſhops in *Ireland* thought I had done nothing, and had therefore taken away my commiſſion. He told me your Lordſhip had taken it away in good time, for the thing was done; and that as for the Duke of *Ormond*, I need not be uneaſy; for he would let his Grace know it as ſoon as he ſaw him, which would be in a day or two at the treaſury; and then promiſed again to carry me to the Queen with the firſt opportunity. Your Grace now ſees how the affair ſtands, and whether I deſerve ſuch treatment from the biſhops, from every part whereof I wholely

* Dr. WELBORE ELLIS.

† Right Hon. EDWARD SOUTHWELL, Eſq; ſecretary of ſtate for Ireland.

wholely exclude your Grace, and could only wiſh my firſt letter, about the progreſs I had made, had found ſo much credit with you, as to have delayed that diſpatch until you heard once more from me. I had at leaſt ſo much diſcretion, not to pretend I had done more than I really did, but rather leſs: and, if I had conſulted my own intereſt, I ſhould have employed my credit with the preſent miniſtry another way. The Biſhops are miſtaken in me; it is well known here, that I could have made my markets with the laſt miniſtry if I had pleaſed; and the preſent men in power are very well appriſed of it, as your Grace may, if I live to ſee you again; which I certainly never would in *Ireland*, if I did not flatter myſelf that I can upon a better foot with your Grace, than with ſome other of their Lordſhips. Your Grace is pleaſed to command me to continue my ſolicitations; but as now there will be no need of them, ſo I think my commiſſion is at an end, ever ſince I had notice of that diſpatch to Mr. *Southwell*. However, in obedience to your Grace, if there be any thing to be done about expediting the forms, wherein my ſervice can be of uſe, I will readily perform as far as I am able: but I muſt tell your Grace what gives me the greateſt diſpleaſure, that I had hopes to prevail that the Queen ſhould in ſome months be brought to remit the crown-rents, which I named in my memorial, but in an article by itſelf; and Mr *Harley* had given me ſome hopes of, and I have ſome private reaſons to think, might have been brought about. I mentioned it in the memorial, only as from myſelf, and therefore if I have an opportunity I ſhall venture to mention it to the Queen, or at leaſt repeat it to Mr *Harley*. This I do as a private man, whom the Biſhops no longer own. It is certainly right to pay all civilities, and make applications to a Lord Lieutenant, but without ſome other means a buſineſs may hang long enough, as this of the firſt-fruits did for four years under the Duke of *Ormond*'s laſt government, although no man loves the church of *Ireland* better than his Grace; but ſuch things are forgot and neglected between the Governor and his ſecretaries, unleſs ſolicited by ſome body who has the buſineſs at heart. But I have done,

and

and ſhall trouble your Grace no farther upon this affair; and on other occaſions while I am here, will endeavour to entertain you with what is like to paſs in this buſy ſcene, where all things are taking a new, and I think, a good turn; and where, if you pleaſe, I will write to you, with that freedom I formerly did; and I beg your Grace to employ me in any commands you may have here, which I ſhall be prouder to obey, than to have ever ſo much merit with ſome others; being with perfect reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's,
Moſt dutiful, and
Moſt obedient humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

Your Grace will pleaſe direct for me at *St. James's* coffee-houſe in *St. James's-ſtreet*.

Two hundred members ſupped laſt night at the fountain tavern, where they went to determine about a chairman for elections. *Medlicott* and *Manly* were the two candidates; but the company could not agree, and parted in an ill humour It is a matter of ſome moment, and I hope it will be amicably made up; but the great rock we are afraid of, is a diſſenſion among the majority, becauſe the weakeſt part, when they grow diſcontented, know where to retire, and be received.

LETTER IV.

My Lord, *London, Dec.* 30. 1710.

I Have juſt received your Grace's letter of the 16th, and I was going however to write again to your Grace, not upon buſineſs, but to amuſe you with ſomething from hence, which no man wants more than your Grace, conſidering the variety of other people's affairs you have always on your hands, as well as the church's and your own, which are the ſame thing. The Duke of *Ormond*

rmond told me the other day, that the † Primate de-ined very faſt, and was hardly able to ſign a paper. I id, I wondered they would put him in the govern-ent, when every one knew he was a dying man this velvemonth paſt. I hope, for the church's good, that our Grace's friends will do their duty in repreſenting ou as the perſon the kingdom wiſheth to ſucceed him. know not how your diſpoſitions ſtand that way. I now my Lord Preſident hath great credit at preſent, nd I have underſtood him to be a friend to your Grace. can only ſay, I have no regard to your intereſt in this, ut that of the church; and therefore ſhould be very lad to drop in a word where it lieth in my way, if I hought it would not be diſagreeable to you. I dread heir ſending a perſon from hence, which I ſhall venture o prevent with all the little credit I have, and ſhould be lad to ſee a Primate of our own kingdom and univer-ty; and that is all I ſhall venture to ſay on this ſubject.

Marſhal *Staremberg* ‡ hath certainly got to *Saragoſſa* vith 7000 men, and the Duke of *Vendoſme* § hath ſent im his equipage. Mr *Stanhope* * was poſitive to part orces with *Staremberg*, which occaſioned this loſs; and vhen the battle was, they were ſeveral miles aſunder. The Duke of *Marlborough* was yeſterday an hour with he Queen; it was ſet him at twelve at noon, when it vas likely his viſit ſhould be ſhorteſt. Mr *St John* was vith her juſt before, and Mr *Harley* juſt after. The Duke's behaviour was with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; hat he was the meaneſt of her Majeſty's inſtruments; ıer humble creature; a poor worm, *&c.* This I had rom a Lord to whom the Queen told it: for the mi-iſters never tell any thing; and it is only by pick-ng out and comparing, that one can ever be the wiſer or them. I took leave yeſterday of Lord *Peterborow*, who is going in a day or two to *Vienna*: I ſaid, I wiſh-d he were going to *Spain*; he told me, he hoped his preſent journey would be to more purpoſe; and, by

† Dr MARSH.

‡ General and Commander of the *Imperial* forces in *Spain*.

§ Commander of the *French*.

* *General Stanhope*, Commander of the Engliſh. He was created *n Earl by* GEORGE I.

what I can gather, they will uſe all means to make as ſpeedy a peace as poſſible, with ſafety and honour. Lord *Rivers* † tells me he will not ſet out for *Hanover* this month: I aſked him about his late reception there, becauſe the town was full of ſtories about it: he aſſured me he could not deſire a better; and, if it were otherwiſe, I believe he would hardly be pitched upon to be ſent again. The young people in parliament are very eager to have ſome inquiries made into paſt managements, and are a little angry with the ſlackneſs of the miniſtry upon that article; they ſay, they have told thoſe who ſent them, that the Queen's calling a new parliament was to correct and look into former abuſes; and, if ſomething of the latter be not done, they know not how to anſwer it. I am not altogether ſatisfied how the miniſtry is diſpoſed in this point. Your Grace hath heard there was much talk lately of Sir *Richard Levinge*'s * deſign to impeach Lord *Wharton*; and ſeveral perſons of great conſideration in the houſe aſſured me, they would give him all encouragement; and I have reaſon to know, it would be acceptable to the court: but Sir *Richard* is the moſt timorous man alive, and they all begin to look upon him in that character, and to hope nothing from him: however, they talk of ſome other inquiries when the parliament meets after this receſs; and it is often in people's mouths, that *February* will be a warm month; but this I can affirm nothing of, and I hope your Grace will diſtinguiſh between what I affirm, and what I report: as to the firſt you may ſecurely count upon it; the other you will pleaſe to take as it is ſent.

Since the letter from the Biſhops to the Duke of *Ormond*, I have been a much cooler ſollicitor; for I look upon myſelf no longer a deputed perſon. Your Grace may be fully ſatisfied, that the thing is granted, becauſe I had order to report it to you from the prime miniſter; the reſt is form, and may be done at any time:

† RICHARD SAVAGE, Earl of *Rivers*, her Majeſty's Miniſter and Plenipotentiary to *Hanover*.

* Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench.

time: as for bringing the letter over myſelf, I muſt again profeſs to your Grace, that I do not regard the reputation of it at all; perhaps I might if I were in *Ireland;* but, when I am on this ſide, a certain pride ſeizeth me from very different uſage I meet with, which maketh me look on things in another light: but, beſides, I beg to tell your Grace in confidence, that the miniſtry have deſired me to continue here ſome time longer, for certain reaſons, that I may ſome time have the honour to tell you. As for every body's knowing what is done in the firſt-fruits, it was I that told it; for, after I ſaw the Biſhops letter, I let every one know it in perfect ſpight, and told Mr *Harley* and Mr Secretary *St John* ſo. However, in humble deference to your Grace's opinion, and not to appear ſullen, I did yeſterday complain to Mr Secretary *St John*, that Mr *Harley* had not yet got the letter from the Queen to confirm the grant of the firſt-fruits; that I had loſt reputation by it; and that I took it very ill of them both; and that their excuſes of parliament-buſineſs, and grief for the loſs in *Spain*, were what I would bear no longer. He took all I ſaid very well, and deſired I would call on him to-morrow morning, and he would engage, if Mr *Harley* had not done it, he himſelf would in a day or two. As ſoon as there is any iſſue of this I ſhall inform your Grace; and I have reaſon to think it is a trifle they will not refuſe me.

I have had from other hands ſome accounts of that ridiculous plot your Grace mentions, but it is not yet talked of here, neither have any of the miniſtry mentioned a word of it to me, altho' they are well apprized of ſome affairs in *Ireland;* for, I had two papers given me by a great man, one about the ſentence of the defacers of the ſtatue, and the other about a trial before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Broderick*, for ſome words in the north, ſpoke by a clergyman againſt the Queen. I ſuppoſe your Grace reckons upon a new parliament in *Ireland*, and ſome alterations in the council, the law, and the revenue. Your Grace is the moſt exact correſpondent I ever had, and the Dean of *St Pa-*

trick's directly contrary, which I hope you will remember to say to him upon the occasion.

I am, with the greatest respect,
My Lord, your Grace's most dutiful,
And most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

I have read over this letter, and find several things relating to affairs here, that are said in perfect confidence to your Grace: if they are told again, I only desire it may not be known from what hand they came.

LETTER V.

My Lord, *London, Jan.* 4. 1710-11.

HAVING writ to your Grace so lately, I only now make bold to let you know, that on *Tuesday* I was to wait on Mr Secretary *St John*, who told me from Mr *Harley*, that I need not be in pain about the first-fruits, for the warrant was drawn in order towards a patent; but must pass two several forms, and take up some time, for the Queen designeth to make a grant by her letters-patent. I shall take all due methods to hasten it as far as I am able; but in these cases they are generally pretty tedious. Mr *Harley* likewise sent me the same day by another person the same message. I dined with him about four days ago, but there being much company, and he going away in haste pretty soon after dinner, he had not time to tell me so himself. Indeed he hath been so ready to do every thing in this matter as I would have him, that he never needed pressing, which, considering both the weight and difficulty of affairs, at present on his shoulders, is very extraordinary, and what I never met from a great minister before. I had thought, and so Mr *Harley* told me, that the Queen would have sent a letter to the Bishops; but this is a shorter way, and I hope your Grace will like it. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord, your Grace's most dutiful,
And most humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I am

am told from a good hand, that in a ſhort time the Houſe of Commons will fall upon ſome inquiries into the late management.

took leave yeſterday of Lord *Peterborow*, who, I ſuppoſe, is this day ſet out on his journey to *Vienna*; he is a little diſcouraged, and told me, he did not hope for any great ſucceſs in what he went upon. He is one of thoſe many who are mightily bent upon having ſome ſuch inquiries made as I have mentioned.

LETTER VI.

My Lord, *London, March* 8. 1710-11.

I Write to your Grace under the greateſt diſturbance of mind for the public and myſelf. A gentleman came in where I dined this afternoon, and told us Mr *Harley* was ſtabbed, and ſome confuſed particulars. I immediately ran to Secretary *St John*'s hard by, but no body was at home; I met Mrs *St John* in her chair, who could not ſatisfy me, but was in pain about the Secretary, who, as ſhe heard, had killed the murderer. I went ſtraight to Mr *Harley*'s, where abundance of people were to inquire. I got young Mr *Harley* to me; he ſaid his father was aſleep, and they hoped in no danger, and then told me the fact, as I ſhall relate it to your Grace. This day the Marquis *de Guiſcard* was taken up for high-treaſon, by a warrant of Mr *St John*, and examined before a committee of counſel in Mr *St John*'s office, where were preſent, the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Buckingham*, *Shrewsbury*, Earl *Powlet*, Mr *Harley*, Mr *St John*, and others. During examination, Mr *Harley* obſerved *Guiſcard*, who ſtood behind him, but on one ſide, ſwearing and looking diſreſpectfully. He told him he ought to behave himſelf better, while he was examined for ſuch a crime. *Guiſcard* immediately drew a penknife out of his pocket, which he had picked out of ſome of the offices, and reaching round ſtabbed him juſt under the breaſt, a little to the right ſide; but it pleaſed God

that the point ſtopped at one of the ribs, and broke ſhort half an inch. Immediately Mr *St John* roſe, drew his ſword, and ran it into *Guiſcard*'s breaſt. Five or ſix more of the counſel drew and ſtabbed *Guiſcard* in ſeveral places: but the Earl *Powlet* called out for God's ſake, to ſpare *Guiſcard*'s life, that he might be made an example, and Mr *St John*'s ſword was taken from him, and broke, and the footmen without ran in, and bound *Guiſcard*, who begged he might be killed immediately; and, they ſay, called out three or four times, my Lord *Ormond*, my Lord *Ormond*. They ſay *Guiſcard* reſtiled them a while, until the footmen came in. Immediately *Bucier* the ſurgeon was ſent for, who dreſſed Mr. *Harley* and he was ſent home. The wound bled freſh, and they do not apprehend him in danger: he ſaid when he came, he thought himſelf in none; and when I was there he was aſleep, and they did not find him at all feveriſh. He hath been ill this week, and told me laſt *Saturday*, he found himſelf much out of order, and hath been abroad but twice ſince, ſo that the only danger is, leſt his being out of order, ſhould with the wound put him in a fever, and I ſhall be in mighty pain 'till to morrow morning. I went back to poor Mrs *St John*, who told me her huſband was with my Lord Keeper*, at Mr Attorney's, and ſhe ſaid ſomething to me very remarkable: that, going to day to pay her duty to the Queen, when all the men and ladies were dreſſed to make their appearance, this being the day of the Queen's acceſſion, the lady of the bed-chamber in waiting told her the Queen had not been at church, and ſaw no company; yet, when ſhe inquired her health, they ſaid ſhe was very well, only had a little cold. We conceive, the Queen's reaſon for not going out, might be ſomething about this ſeizing of *Guiſcard* for high treaſon, and that perhaps there was ſome plot, or ſomething extraordinary. Your Grace muſt have heard of this *Guiſcard*: he fled from *France* for villainies there, and was thought on to head an invaſion of that kingdom, but was not liked. I know him well, and think him a fellow

* Sir *Simon Harcourt*, afterwards created Lord Baron of Stanton *Harcourt*.

ellow of little conſequence, although of ſome cunning nd much villainy. We paſſed by one another this lay in the Mall, at two o'clock, an hour before he was aken up, and I wondered he did not ſpeak to me.

I write all this to your Grace, becauſe I believe you would deſire to know a true account of ſo important an accident; and beſides, I know you will have a thouſand falſe ones; and I believe every material circumſtance here is true, having it from young Mr *Harley* I met Sir *Thomas Manſel*, (it was then after ſix this evening) and he and Mr. *Prior* told me, they had juſt ſeen *Guiſcard* carried by in a chair, with a ſtrong guard, to *Newgate*, or the *Preſs-Yard*. Time, perhaps, will ſhew who was at the bottom of all this; but nothing could happen ſo unluckily to *England* at this juncture as Mr *Harley*'s death, when he hath all the ſchemes for the greateſt part of the ſupplies in his head, and the parliament cannot ſtir a ſtep without him. Neither can I altogether forget myſelf, who, in him, ſhould loſe a perſon I have more obligations to, than any other in this kingdom, who hath always treated me with the tenderneſs of a parent, and never refuſed me any favour I aſked for a friend; therefore I hope your Grace will excuſe the diſorder of this letter. I was intending this night, to have writ one of another ſort—I muſt needs ſay, one great reaſon for writing theſe particulars to your Grace, was, that you might be able to give a true account of the fact, which will be ſome ſort of ſervice to Mr *Harley*. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

I have read over what I write, and find it very confuſed and incorrect. which your Grace muſt impute to the violent pain of mind I am in. greater than ever I felt in my life.—It muſt have been the utmoſt height of deſperate guilt, which could have ſpirited that wretch to ſuch an action; I have not heard whether *his wounds* are dangerous, but I pray God he may recover

recover to receive his reward, and that we may learn the bottom of his villainy. It is not above ten days ago, that I was interceding with the ſecretary, in his behalf, becauſe I heard he was juſt ſtarving; but the ſecretary aſſured me he had 400*l.* a year penſion.

LETTER VII.

My Lord, *London, April* 10. 1711.

I Had lately the honour of a letter from your Grace, and waited to acknowledge it until ſomething material ſhould happen, that might recompence the trouble. My occaſion of writing to you at preſent is purely perſonal to your Grace. A report was beginning to run here, by ſome letters from *Ireland*, that your Grace had applied the paſſage you mention of *Rufus*, in a ſpeech you made to your Clergy, which I ventured to contradict as an impoſſibility, and inconſiſtent with your general opinion, and what was in your letter. Mr *Southwell* and Mr *Dopping* were of the ſame mind, and the former ſays, he hath writ to your Grace about it. I ſhould have thought no more of the matter, but let it ſpend like an idle ſtory below notice; only dining laſt *Sunday* with one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, he gave me a letter to read, which he had juſt received from the printer of the news-paper called the Post-Boy, in which was a tranſcript of a letter from *Dublin*, and the ſecretary being mentioned in that tranſcript, the man would not publiſh it without his advice. It contained an account how the news of Mr *Harley*'s being ſtabbed had been received by the Whigs in *Dublin*; of which he produced ſome inſtances. Then he mentions the paſſage out of *Tacitus*, and concludes thus: *The firſt that mentioned it was the Archbiſhop of* Dublin, *who took notice of it firſt at a meeting of his Clergy; and afterwards, in the hearing of ſeveral perſons, was reprimanded for it in a civil, though ſharp manner, by one of the chief miniſters there, well known for his ſteady loyalty to her Majeſty, and his zealous ſervice to the church of Eng-*

land.

land, *under her late perilous trial.* I immediately told the ſecretary, that I knew this muſt be falſe and miſrepreſented, and that he muſt give me leave to ſcratch out that paſſage, which I accordingly did; and for fear of any miſtake, I made him give me afterwards the whole letter, that I might have it in my power. The next day I ſent for the printer, and told him what I had done, and upon further thoughts I ſtifled the whole letter, and the Secretary approved of it. I likewiſe told the printer, that when he had any thing relating to *Ireland*, I had the ſecretary's order (which was true) to ſend it me, that he might not do injury to mens reputations, by what was repreſented to him from ignorant or malicious hands in that kingdom. The letter was to have been printed this day in the Post-Boy, with that concluſion reflecting on your Grace, which is happily prevented; for although your character and ſtation place you above the malice of little people, yet your friends would be extremely concerned to ſee your name made ſo bold with in a common news-paper.

I humbly hope your Grace will not diſapprove of what I have done; at leaſt I have gratified my own inclination, in the deſire of ſerving you, and beſides had the opportunity of giving Mr Secretary ſome part of your character.

I dare lay a wager, that all this happened by the groſs underſtandings of ſome people, who miſunderſtood and miſapplied ſomething very innocent that came from your Grace. I muſt be ſo bold to ſay, that people in that kingdom do very ill underſtand raillery. I can rally much ſafer here with a great miniſter of ſtate, or a dutcheſs, than I durſt do there with an attorney or his wife. And I can venture to rally with your Grace, although I could not do it with many of your clergy. I myſelf have been a witneſs, when want of common ſenſe hath made people offended with your Grace, where they ought to have been moſt pleaſed. I ſay things every day at the beſt tables, which I ſhould be turned out of company for if I were in *Ireland*.

Here is one Mr *Richardſon*, a clergyman, who is ſoliciting

liciting an affair that I find your Grace approveth, and therefore I do him all the ſervice I can in it.

We are now full of the buſineſs of the *Iriſh* yarn, and I attend among the reſt to engage the members I am acquainted with in our intereſt. To-morrow we expect it will come on.

I will ſhortly write to your Grace ſome account how public affairs ſtand: we hope Mr *Harley* will be abroad in a week.

We have news from *Bruſſels* that the Dauphin is dead of an apoplexy

I am with the greateſt reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful,
And moſt humble ſervant
JON. SWIFT.

I wiſh your Grace would incloſe your commands to me, directed to *Eraſmus Lewis*, Eſq; at my Lord *Dartmouth*'s office at *Whitehall*; for I have left off going to coffee-houſes.

LETTER VIII.

My Lord, *Chelſea, May* 10. 1711.

I Have had your Grace's letter of *April* 19. ſome time by me, but deferred my anſwer until I could give ſome account of what uſe I had made of it. I went immediately to Mr Secretary *St John*, and read moſt of it to him; he was extremely ſatisfied, and very glad that ſcandalous account, deſigned to be printed in the Poſt-boy, was ſuppreſſed. Mr *Harley* was not then quite well enough; ſo I ventured (and hope your Grace will not diſapprove it) to ſhew your letter to a gentleman who hath a great reſpect for your Grace, and who told me ſeveral others of *Ireland* were poſſeſſed of that report. I truſted the letter with him, and gave him leave to read it to them, which he told me he did, and that they were all entirely convinced: and indeed, as far as I can find, the report is quite blown over, and hath left

left no impreſſion. While your Grace's letter was out of my hands, dining with Mr *Harley*, he ſaid to me almoſt as ſoon as he ſaw me, *How came the Archbiſhop of* Dublin *and I to fall out?* I told him I knew what he meant; but your Grace was altogether miſrepreſented, and it muſt come from ſome infamous raſcals, of which there never wants a ſett in that kingdom, who make it their buſineſs to find wrong characters here, *&c.* He anſwered, that he believed and knew it was as I ſaid. I added, that I had the honour to be long known to your Grace, and that you were the laſt man in the kingdom upon whom ſuch a report could be fixed with any probability; and that ſince he was pleaſed to mention this matter firſt, he muſt give me leave, the next time I ſaw him, to read a letter I had from your Grace in anſwer to one of mine, wherein I had told you of ſuch a report; he ſaid there was no need, for he firmly believed me. I anſwered ſmiling, that ſhould not do, for I would never ſuffer a perſon for whom I had ſo great an eſteem, to lie under the leaſt ſuſpicion of any thing wrong. Laſt *Saturday*, after dinner, I was again to wait on him. On that day of the week my Lord Keeper, my Lord *Rivers*, and Mr Secretary *St John*, always uſed to dine with him before this accident, and ſometimes they uſed to let me be of the company. This was the firſt *Saturday* they had met ſince his recovery; and I was in ſuch joy to ſee the old club met again, that it affecteth me ſtill, as your Grace ſees by my impertinence in mixing it with an account that only relates to yourſelf. I read thoſe parts of your letter to him, which I thought proper, and both he and the company did very frankly acquit your Grace; and Mr *Harley* in particular ſpoke a good deal of his reſpect and eſteem for you; and then he repeated, that it was no new thing to receive lyes from *Ireland*; which I doubt is ſo true, that no man of diſtinction in that kingdom is ſafe; and I wiſh it were poſſible to take ſome courſe to prevent the evil.

As for libels upon your Grace, bating my concern for the ſouls of the writers, I ſhould give you joy of them. You would leſs deſerve your ſtation, if

if knaves and fools did not hate you; and whilſt theſe ſects continue, may your Grace and all good men be the object of their averſion.

My Lord Keeper, Mr *Harley*, and one or two more, are immediately to be made peers: the town hath been expecting it for ſome time, altho' the court make it yet a ſecret; but I can aſſure your Grace of the truth, for the preambles to their patents are now drawing, and I ſaw a very handſome one for Mr *Harley*. You will pleaſe not to mention this particular, although it will be ſoon public, but it is yet kept mighty private. Mr *Harley* is to be Lord Treaſurer. Perhaps before the poſt leaves this town, all this will be openly told, and then I may be laughed at for being ſo myſterious; but ſo capricious are great men in their ſecrets. The firſt authentic aſſurances I had of theſe promotions was laſt Sunday, though the expectation hath been ſtrong for above a month. We ſuppoſe likewiſe, that many changes will be made in the employments as ſoon as the ſeſſion endeth, which will be, I believe, in leſs than a fortnight.

Poor Sir *Cholmondely Deering*, of *Kent*, was yeſterday in a duel ſhot through the body, by one Mr *Thornhill* in *Tothilfields*, and died in ſome hours.

I never mention any thing of the firſt fruits either to Mr *Harley* or the Duke of *Ormond*. If it be done before his Grace goes over, it is well, and there's an end: if not, I ſhall have the beſt opportunity of doing it in his abſence; If I ſhould ſpeak of it now, perhaps it would be ſo contrived to hinder me from ſolliciting it afterwards; but as ſoon as the Duke is gone, I ſhall learn at the treaſury what he hath done in it. I am with the greateſt reſpect, my Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and
obliged humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT

I have been at this town this fortnight for my health and to be under a neceſſity of walking to and from *London* every day. But your Grace will pleaſe ſtill to direct your letter under cover to Mr Lewis.

LETT

LETTER IX.

My Lord, *London, July* 12. 1711.

I Now conceive your Grace begins to be a buſy perſon in council, and parliament, and convocation, and perhaps may be content to be diverted now and then by an idle letter from hence. We have an empty town, the Queen being ſettled at *Windſor*, and the miniſters often there. We are ſo weary with expecting further removals, that we begin to drop the diſcourſe: neither am I ſure, whether thoſe in power may not differ a little in opinion as to that matter. However, it ſeemeth generally agreed, that there will be many changes before next ſeſſion, and that it is neceſſary there ſhould be ſo. My Lord *Peterborow* hath been ſome time returned, and I have had a good deal of talk with him; or rather, he hath talked a good deal to me. He is mightily diſcontented with what I writ to him, and which he findeth to be true, that there ſeemeth a general diſpoſition among us towards a peace. He thinketh his ſucceſsful negotiations with the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy* have put us in a better condition than ever to continue the war, and will engage to convince me, that *Spain* is yet to be had if we take proper meaſures. Your Grace knoweth he is a perſon of great talents, but daſhed with ſomething reſtleſs and capricious in his nature. He told me he came over without being recalled, and without one ſervant, having ſcattered them in ſeveral parts of *Germany*. I doubt he will not have credit enough with the miniſtry to make them follow his plans; and he is ſuch a ſort of perſon as may give good advice, which wiſe men may reaſonably refuſe to follow. It ſeemeth to me that the miniſtry lie under a grievous dilemma from the difficulty of continuing the war, and the danger of an ill peace, which I doubt whether all their credit with the Queen and country would ſupport them under: but my Lord Treaſurer is a ſtranger to fear, and hath all that courage which innocence and good ſenſe can give a man,

and the moſt free from avarice of any one living; both which are abſolutely neceſſary for his ſtation in this juncture. He was ſaying a thing to me ſome days ago, which I believe is the great maxim he proceedeth by, that wiſdom in public affairs was not what is commonly believed the forming of ſchemes with remote views; but the making uſe of ſuch incidents as happen. It was thought my Lord *Marr* * would have ſucceeded as Secretary upon the Duke of *Queensbury*'s death; but the court ſeemeth now diſpoſed to have no third Secretary, which was a uſeleſs charge. The Queen hath been extremely ill, ſo as for four and twenty hours people were in great pain; but ſhe hath been ſince much better, and voided abundance of gravel, *&c.* Our expedition under Mr *Hill* is ſaid to be towards the ſouth ſeas, but nothing is known: I told a great man who is deepeſt in the project of it, that I had no good opinion of theſe expeditions, which hitherto never ſucceeded with us. He ſaid he would venture ten to one upon the ſucceſs of it, provided no ill accident happened by ſtorms; and that it was concerted with three or four great Princes abroad.

As to the firſt-fruits, I muſt inform your Grace, that the whole affair lieth exactly as it did for ſome months paſt. The Duke and his people never thought, or at leaſt never meddle in it, until ſome days before they went, and then they were told it was not already done; and my Lord Treaſurer directed that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the Lord Lieutenant to mention in his ſpeech to parliament, that the Queen had done it, *&c.* But they took no ſort of care to finiſh the matter, and carry the inſtrument over with them, which they might have done, had they begun timely, and applied themſelves; and as the Biſhops ſuperſeded me, I did not preſume to meddle further in it: but I think this may be a leſſon, that in all ſuch caſes as theſe it is neceſſary to have ſome good ſollicitor, and not leave things wholely to great men: nay, ſo little did the Duke engage in this matter, that my Lord Treaſurer

* This Earl of *Marr* was one of the firſt that entered into the *rebellion* in *Scotland* in favour of the pretender in the year 1715

ſurer told me yeſterday (although that is a ſecret) that the very draught they had made upon my application was ſome way or other miſlaid between the Queen and himſelf, and could not be found; but, however, that another ſhould ſoon be drawn: and his Lordſhip commanded me to inform your Grace and my Lords the Biſhops, that with the firſt convenience the inſtrument ſhould be prepared and ſent over, which your Grace will pleaſe to let them know. I was of opinion with my Lord Treaſurer, that it ſhould be done by a deed from the Queen, without an act of parliament, and that the Biſhops ſhould be made a corporation for the management of it. Your Grace ſees I write with much freedom, becauſe I am ſure I can do it ſafely.

I have been engaging my Lord Treaſurer and the other great men in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, eſpecially his Lordſhip. He is to erect ſome kind of ſociety or academy under the patronage of the miniſters, and protection of the Queen, for correcting, enlarging, poliſhing, and fixing our language. The methods muſt be left to the ſociety; only I am writing a letter to my Lord Treaſurer by way of propoſals and ſome general hints, which I deſign to publiſh, and he expecteth from me. All this may come to nothing, although I find the ingenious and learned men of all my acquaintance fall readily in with it; and ſo I hope will your Grace, if the deſign can be well executed. I would deſire at leiſure ſome of your Grace's thoughts on this matter.

I hope your Grace will take advantage of the times, and ſee whether your violent houſe of commons will fall in with ſome good law for the benefit of the church, as their much betters have done it here: and I think the convocation could not be better employed than in conſidering what good law is wanting for the church, and endeavour to have it paſſed, rather than in brangling upon trifles. The church hath ſo few happy occaſions, that we ought to let none of them ſlip. I take up too much of your Grace's time, and

therefore, begging your prayers and bleſſing, I remain, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful, humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

LETTER X.

My Lord, *London, Auguſt* 15, 1711.

I HAVE been at *Windſor* a fortnight, from whence I returned two days ago, and met a letter at my lodging from your Grace dated *July* 25. I was told it was ſent to Mr. *Manly's* houſe (your poſtmaſter's ſon) and by him to me; ſo that I ſuppoſe your Grace did not direct to Mr *Lewis* as formerly, otherwiſe I ſhould have had it at *Windſor*. The miniſters go uſually down to *Windſor* on *Saturday*, and return on *Monday* or *Tueſday* following. I had little opportunity of talking with my Lord Treaſurer, ſeeing him only at court, or at ſuppers at third places, or in much company at his own lodgings. Yeſterday I went to viſit him after dinner, but did not ſtay above an hour, becauſe buſineſs called him out. I read to him that part of your Grace's letter which expreſſeth your Grace's reſpects to him, and he received them perfectly well. He told me he had lately received a letter from the biſhops of *Ireland*, ſubſcribed (as I remember) by ſeventeen, acknowledging his favour about the firſt-fruits. I told his Lordſhip that ſome people in *Ireland* doubted whether the Queen had granted them before the Duke of *Ormond* was declared lieutenant; yes, he ſaid, ſure I remembered it was immediately upon my application. I ſaid I heard the Duke himſelf took no merit on that account. He anſwered, no, he was ſure he did not, he was the honeſteſt gentleman alive: but, ſaid he, it is the Queen that did it, and ſhe alone ſhall have the merit; and I muſt be ſo free as to tell your Grace that the grudging, ungrateful manner of ſome people, which upon ſeveral occaſions I could not but give him hints of for my juſtification, hath not been prudent. I am ſure it hath hindred me from any thoughts of purſuing another affair of yet greater conſequence, which I had good hopes

hopes of compaſſing. What can be the matter with thoſe people? do I aſk either money or thanks of them? have I done any hurt to the buſineſs? my Lord Treaſurer told me, he had ſent the letter over about the firſt-fruits. I never inquired into the particulars: he ſays he will very ſoon anſwer the Biſhops letter to himſelf, and will ſhew me both letter and anſwer; but I ſhall not put him in mind, unleſs he remembers it of his own accord. Nor, with great ſubmiſſion to your Grace, can I prevail on my own pride to deſire he would make any mention of me in his anſwer. your Grace is convinced, that unleſs I write a heap of lies, the Queen had granted that affair before my Lord Duke was named. I deſire to convince no body elſe, and ſince the thing is done, it is not of any conſequence who were inſtrumental in it. I could not forbear yeſterday reminding my Lord Treaſurer of what I ſaid to Mr *Southwell* before his Lordſhip, when he came to take his leave before he went to *Ireland*; which was, that I hoped Mr. *Southwell* would let the Biſhops and clergy of *Ireland* know that my Lord Treaſurer had long ſince (before the Duke was governor) prevailed on the Queen to remit the firſt-fruits, &c. and that it was his Lordſhip's work, as the grant of the ſame favour in *England* had formerly been. My Lord Treaſurer did then acknowledge it before Mr *Southwell*, and I think Mr *Southwell* ſhould have acted accordingly; but there is a great deal of ignorance, as well as ill-will, in all this matter. The Duke of *Ormond* himſelf, had he engaged in it, could only act as a ſollicitor. Every body knows, that the Lord Treaſurer in ſuch caſes muſt be applied to (and only he) by the greateſt perſons. I ſhould think the people of *Ireland* might rather be pleaſed to ſee one of their own country able to find ſome credit at court, and in a capacity to ſerve them, eſpecially one who doth it without any other proſpect than that of ſerving them. I know not any of the Biſhops from whom I can expect any favour, and there are not many upon whom a man of any figure could have ſuch deſigns; but I will be revenged; for whenever it lieth in my power, I will ſerve the

church and kingdom, although they ſhould uſe me much worſe. I ſhall dine to-morrow with Lord Treaſurer, and perhaps I may then ſee the anſwer he is to write. I thought to have ſent this letter away to-night; but I have been interrupted by buſineſs. I go to *Windſor* again on *Saturday* for a day or two, but I will leave this behind to be ſent to the poſt.

Auguſt 21. I had wrote thus far, and was forced to leave off, being hurried away to *Windſor* by my Lord Treaſurer, from whence I returned but laſt night. His Lordſhip gave me a paper, which he ſaid he had promiſed me; I put it in my pocket, thinking it was about ſomething elſe we had been talking over; and I never looked into it until juſt now, when I find it to be my Lord Primate's letter to his Lordſhip, with an incloſed one from the Biſhops. With ſubmiſſion, I take it to be dry enough, although I ſhall not tell his Lordſhip ſo. They ſay they *are informed his Lordſhip had a great part in*, &c. I think they ſhould either have told who it was informed them ſo, ſince it was a perſon commiſſioned by themſelves; or at leaſt have ſaid they were *aſſured*. And as for thoſe words, *a great part*, I know no body elſe had any except the Queen herſelf. I cannot tell whether my Lord hath writ an anſwer, having ſaid nothing to him of it ſince he gave me the letters, nor ſhall I deſire to ſee it.

As to the convocation, I remember both my Lord Treaſurer and Mr *St John* ſpoke to me about the matter, and were of the ſame opinion with your Grace, that it was wholely in the Queen's choice; I excuſed giving my opinion, being wholely uninformed; and I have heard nothing of it ſince.

My Lord Keeper gave me yeſterday a bundle of *Iriſh* votes at *Windſor*, and we talked a good deal about the quarrel between the Lords and Commons: I ſaid the fault lay in not diſſolving the parliament; which I had mentioned to the Duke of *Ormond*, and often to ſome of thoſe who were thought to have moſt credit with *him*. But they ſeemed to believe as I did, that any *Iriſh* parliament would yield to any thing that any chief governor

governor pleaſed; and ſo it would be a needleſs trouble.

We reckon for certain, that Mr *Hill* with his fleet is gone to *Quebec*.

Mrs *Maſham* * is every minute expecting to lie in. Pray God preſerve her life, which is of great importance. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

The Queen hath got a light fit of the gout. The privy ſeal is not yet diſpoſed of.

LETTER XI.

My Lord, *Windſor-Caſtle, Oct.* 1. 1711.

I HAD the honour of a long letter from your Grace juſt a month ago, which I forbore acknowledging ſooner, becauſe I have been ever ſince perpetually toſſed between this and *London*, and, partly, becauſe there had nothing happened that might make a letter worthy the peruſal. It is the opinion of ſome great perſons here that the words which the houſe of commons took amiſs in your addreſs, might very well bear an application that concerned only my Lord *Wharton*. I find they are againſt my opinion, that a new parliament ſhould have been called; but all agree it muſt now be diſſolved: but in ſhort we are ſo extremely buſy here, that nothing of *Ireland* is talked on above a day or two; that of the city † election I have oftenest heard of; and the proceeding of your court in it, it is thought, might have been wiſer. I find your Grace ſeemeth to be of my opinion, and ſo I told my Lord Treaſurer. I think your *Kilmainham* ‡ project of an addreſs was a very fooliſh

* This lady's huſband, CHARLES MASHAM, Eſq; was created Baron Maſham of Oates, in the county of Eſſex, Dec. 31. 1711.

† Dublin.

‡ The high ſheriff and the grand jury of the county of Dublin *meet here, and prepare addreſſes*; examine affidavits, and find bills *of indictment*. *Civil* and criminal cauſes are alſo tried here.

liſh one, and that for the reaſon of thoſe who were a-gainſt it. I hope *Ireland* will ſoon be equally convinced with us here, that if the pretender be in any body's thoughts, it is of thoſe they leaſt dream, and who now are in no condition of doing miſchief to any but themſelves. As for your convocation, I believe every thing there will terminate in good wiſhes. You can do nothing now, and will not meet again theſe two years, and then I ſuppoſe only to give money, and away. There ſhould, methinks, in the interval, be ſome propoſals conſidered and agreed upon by the Biſhops and principal men of the clergy, to have all ready againſt the next meeting; and even that I deſpair of, for a thouſand reaſons too tedious to mention.

My admiring at the odd proceedings of thoſe among the Biſhops and clergy who are angry with me for getting their firſt-fruits was but a form of ſpeech. I cannot ſincerly wonder at any proceedings in numbers of men, and eſpecially (I muſt venture to ſay ſo) in *Ireland*. Mean time it is a good jeſt to hear my Lord Treaſurer ſaying often before a deal of company, that it was I that got the clergy of *Ireland* their firſt-fruits; and, generally with this addition, that it was before the Duke of *Ormond* was declared Lord Lieutenant. His Lordſhip hath long deſigned an anſwer to the letter he received from the Biſhops; he hath told me ten times he would do it to-morrow. He goeth to *London* this day, but I continue here for a week. I ſhall refreſh his memory, and engage my Lord *Harley* his ſon to do ſo too.

I ſuppoſe your Grace cannot but hear in general of ſome ſteps that are making towards a peace. There came out ſome time ago an account of Mr *Prior*'s journey to *France*, pretended to be a tranſlation, and is a pure invention from beginning to the end. I will let your Grace into the ſecret of it. The clamours of a party againſt any peace without *Spain*, and railing at the miniſtry, as if they deſigned to ruin us, occaſioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furniſhing fools with ſomething to talk of; and it hath had a very great effect. Mean time your Grace may count that a peace is going forward very faſt.—Mr *Prior*

er was actually in *France*, and there are now two miniſters from that court in *London*, which you may be pretty ſure of, if you believe what I tell you, that I ſupped with them myſelf in the houſe where I am now writing, *Saturday* laſt: neither do I find it to be a very great ſecret; for there were two gentlemen more with us beſides the invitor. However, I deſire your Grace to ſay nothing of it, becauſe it may look like lightneſs in me to tell it; Mr *Prior* was with us too, but what their names are I cannot tell; for I believe thoſe they paſſed by when I was there are not the real ones. All matters are agreed between *France* and us, and very much to the advantage and honour of *England*; but I believe no further ſteps will be taken without giving notice to the allies. I do not tell your Grace one ſyllable, as coming from any great miniſter, and therefore I do not betray them. But there are other ways of picking out things in a court: however, I muſt deſire you will not diſcover any of theſe little particulars, nor cite me upon any account at all; for great men may think I tell things from them, although I have them from other hands; in which laſt caſe only, I venture to repeat them to one I can confide in, and one at ſo great a diſtance as your Grace.

I humbly thank your Grace for the good opinion you are pleaſed to have of me, and for your advice which ſeemeth to be wholely grounded on it. As to the firſt, which relateth to my fortune, I ſhall never be able to make myſelf believed how indifferent I am about it. I ſometimes have the pleaſure of making that of others; and I fear it is too great a pleaſure to be a virtue, at leaſt in me. Perhaps in *Ireland*, I may not be able to prevent contempt any other way than by making my fortune; but then it is my comfort, that contempt in *Ireland* will be no ſort of mortification to me. When I was laſt in *Ireland*, I was above half the time retired to one ſcurvy acre of ground, and I always left it with regret. I am as well received and known at court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level; I have formerly been the like. I left it then, and will perhaps leave it now (when they pleaſe to let me) with-

out

out any concern, but what a few months will remove. It is my maxim to leave great miniſters to do as they pleaſe; and if I cannot diſtinguiſh myſelf enough by being uſeful in ſuch a way, as becometh a man of conſcience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will ſollicit for myſelf, although I often do for others.

The other part of your Grace's advice to be ſome way uſeful to the church and to the public by any talent you are pleaſed to think I poſſeſs, is the only thing for which I ſhould deſire ſome ſettlement that would make me full maſter of my time. I have often thought of ſome ſubjects, wherein I believed I might ſucceed: but, my Lord, to aſk a man floating at ſea what he deſigned to do when he gets on ſhore, is too haſty a queſtion: let him get there firſt, and reſt and dry himſelf, and then look about him. I have been pretty well known to ſeveral great men in my life; and it was their duty, if they thought I might have been of uſe, to put me into a capacity for it; but I never yet knew one great man in my life, who was not every day ſwayed by other motives in diſtributing his favours, whatever reſolutions he had pretended to make to the contrary. I was ſaying a thing the other day to my Lord Keeper, which he approved of, and which I believe may be the reaſon of this: it was, that perſons of tranſcendent merit forced their way in ſpight of all obſtacles: but thoſe whoſe merit was of a ſecond, third, or fourth rate, were ſeldom able to do any thing; becauſe the knaves and dunces of the world had all the impudence, aſſiduity, flattery, and ſervile compliance divided among them, which kept them perpetually in the way, and engaged every body to be their ſollicitors. I was aſking a great miniſter a month ago how he could poſſibly happen to pick out a certain perſon to employ in a commiſſion of diſcovering abuſes, who was the moſt notorious for the conſtant practice of the greateſt abuſes in that very kind, and was very well known not to be at all reformed? He ſaid he knew all this; but what would I have him to do? I anſwered, ſend any one of your footmen, and command him to chuſe out the firſt likely, genteel fellow

ow he ſees in the ſtreets; for ſuch a one might poſſibly be honeſt, but he was ſure the other was not; and et they have employed him.

I promiſe your Grace that this ſhall be the laſt ſally I vill ever make to a court, and that I will return as oon as I can have leave. I have no great pleaſure in ny preſent manner of living, often involved in things hat perplex me very much, and which try my patience o the utmoſt, teazed every day by ſollicitors, who have ſo little ſenſe as to think I have either credit or inclination to be theirs, altho' they ſee I am able to get nothing for myſelf. But I find I am grown very tedious, and therefore conclude with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord, your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, and moſt humble ſervant,

LETTER XII.

My Lord, *London, Nov.* 8. 1711.

I Cannot in conſcience take up your Grace's time with an empty letter; and it is not every day one can furniſh what will be worth your reading. I had all your Grace's packets, and I humbly thank your Grace for your good inſtructions to me, which I ſhall obſerve as ſoon as ever it ſhall pleaſe God to put me into a way of life, where I can have leiſure for ſuch ſpeculations.

In above twenty years that I have known ſomething of courts and miniſters, I never ſaw ſo ſtrange and odd a complicated diſpoſition of affairs as what we have had for ſix weeks paſt. The facts your Grace may have met with in every common news-paper; but the ſprings of them are hardly diſcoverable even by thoſe who had moſt opportunity of obſerving. Neither do I find thoſe who ſhould know beſt agree upon the matter. There is a perpetual trial of ſkill between thoſe who are out and thoſe who are in; and the former are generally more induſtrious at watching opportunities. Laſt *September* at *Windſor* the Duke of *Somerſet**, who had

* See the hiſtory of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and of the peace of Utrecht.

had not been at cabinet-council for many months, was adviſed by his friends of the late miniſtry to appear there, but the reſt refuſed to ſit with him; and the council was put off until next day, when the Duke went to a horſe-race. This was declaring open war, and ever ſince both he and his Dutcheſs (who is in great favour) have been uſing all ſorts of means to break the preſent miniſtry. Mrs *Maſham* was abſent two months from *Windſor*, with lying in at *Kenſington*, and my Lord Treaſurer ſix weeks by indiſpoſition. Some time before the ſeſſion, the Duke above mentioned went to all thoſe Lords who, by the narrowneſs of their fortunes, have depended on the court, and engaged them to vote againſt the miniſtry, by aſſuring them it was the Queen's pleaſure. He is ſaid to have added other powerful motives *Bothmar*'s * memorial was publiſhed juſt at that juncture, as *Hoffman* the Emperor's reſident had ſome time before printed the *French* King's propoſitions. It is confidently affirmed by thoſe who ſhould know, that money was plentifully ſcattered. By theſe and ſome other accidents the vote was carried againſt the miniſtry; and every body of either party underſtood the thing as intended directly againſt my Lord Treaſurer's head. The Houſe of Lords made a very ſhort adjournment, and were preparing ſome reſolutions and addreſſes of the moſt dangerous importance. We had a very melancholy *Chriſtmas*, and the moſt fearleſs perſons were ſhaken: for our great danger lay where I cannot tell your Grace at this diſtance. The thing wiſhed for was the removal of the *Somerſet* family; but that could not be done, nor yet is. After ſome time the Queen declared herſelf as you have heard, and twelve new Lords were created. My Lord *Nottingham*'s game in this affair hath been moſt talked of, and ſeveral hard things ſaid of him are affirmed to be true. The diſſenting miniſters in this town were conſulted about the occaſional bill, and agreed to it, for what reaſons I cannot learn; that which is offered not ſatisfying me, that they were afraid of worſe. I believe they expected an entire change of miniſtry

* Baron BOTHMAR envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King GEORGE I.

miniſtry and meaſures, and a new parliament, by which it might be repealed, and have inſtead ſome law to their advantage. The Duke of *Marlborough*'s removal hath paſſed very ſilently; the particular reaſons for it I muſt tell your Grace ſome other time; but how it will paſs abroad I cannot anſwer. People on both ſides conclude from it, that the peace is certain, but the concluſion is ill drawn: the thing would have been done, although we had been ſure of continuing the war. We are terribly afraid of Prince *Eugene*'s coming, and therefore it was put off until the reſolutions were taken. Before he came out of his yacht, he aſked how many Lords were made? he was a quarter of an hour with the Queen, on *Sunday* about ſeven at night. The great men reſolve to entertain him in their turns; and we ſuppoſe it will all end in a journey of pleaſure. We are ſo confidently told of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s being out, that I writ to the Dean of *St Patrick*'s. A man of quality told me, he had it from my Lord Keeper, whom I aſked next day, and found it a miſtake; but it is impoſſible to fence againſt all lies: however, it is ſtill expected that the Duke will be out, and that many other removes will be made. Lord *Ranelagh* died on *Sunday* morning: he was very poor and needy, and could hardly ſupport himſelf for want of a penſion, which uſed to be paid him, and which his friends ſollicited as a thing of perfect charity. He *died hard*, as their term of art is here, to expreſs the woful ſtate of men, who diſcover no religion at their death

The town-talk is, that the Duke of *Ormond* will go no more to *Ireland*, but be ſucceeded by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who is a very great and excellent perſon; and I will hold a wager that your Grace will be an admirer of his dutcheſs: if they go, I will certainly order her to make all advances to you; but this is only general report of which they know nothing at court, although I think it not altogether improbable.

We have yet heard nothing of my Lord Privy Seal. *Buys* the Dutch envoy went to *Holland* I think at the ſame time. *Buys* is a great pretender to politics, and

always leaves the company with great expreſſions of ſatisfaction that he hath convinced them all: he took much pains to perſuade me out of ſome opinions; and although all he ſaid did but fix me the deeper, he told the miniſtry how ſucceſsful he had been. I have got poor Dr *King**, who was ſome time in *Ireland*, to be Gazetteer, which will be worth 250*l.* per annum to him, if he be diligent and ſober, for which I am engaged. I mention this, becauſe I think he was under your Grace's protection when he was in *Ireland*.

By what I gather from Mr *Southwell*, I believe your Grace ſtandeth very well with the Duke of *Ormond*; and it is one great addition to my eſteem for Mr *Southwell*, that he is entirely your Grace's friend and humble ſervant, delighting to do you juſtice upon all occaſions.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful,
And moſt humble ſervant,

LETTER XIII.

My Lord, ——, 1712.

PERHAPS you will be content to know ſome circumſtances of affairs here. The Duke of *Somerſet* uſually leaveth *Windſor* on *Saturday*, when the miniſters go down thither, and returns not until they are gone. On *Sunday* ſeven-night, contrary to cuſtom, he was at *Windſor*, and a cabinet counſel was to be held at night; but after waiting a long time, word was brought out, that there would be no cabinet. Next day it was held, and then the Duke went to a horſe-race about three miles off. This began to be whiſpered; and at my return to town they had got it in the city; but not the reaſon; which was, that Mr Secretary *St John* refuſed to ſit if the Duke was there. Laſt *Sunday* the Duke was there again; but did not offer to come to the cabinet, which was held without him. I hear the Duke was adviſed by his friends

* *Author of* MULLY *of* MOUNTOWN, (a moſt delightful village to the ſouth of Dublin, near the ſea), and ſeveral other good poems. He alſo tranſlated HORACE's *Art of Poetry* into Engliſh verſe.

friends of the other party to make this ſtep. The Secretary ſaid to ſome of his acquaintance, that he would not ſit with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, &c. You know the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* is a great favourite, and hath got the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough's* key. She is inſinuating, and a woman of intrigue, and will, I believe, do what ill offices ſhe can to the Secretary. They would have hindred her coming in; but the Queen ſaid, If it were ſo, that ſhe could not have what ſervants ſhe liked, ſhe did not find how her condition was mended. I take the ſafety of the preſent miniſtry to conſiſt in the agreement of three great men, Lord Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, and Mr Secretary, and ſo I have often told them together between jeſt and earneſt, and two of them ſeparately with more ſeriouſneſs. And I think they entirely love one another; their differences are not of weight to break there union. They vary a little about their notions of a certain general. I will not ſay more at this diſtance. I do not ſee well how they can be without the Secretary, who hath very great abilities both for the cabinet and parliament. The tories in the city are a little diſcontented, that no further changes are made in employments, of which I cannot learn the ſecret, although I have heard ſeveral, and from ſuch who might tell the true one if they would. One is, that Lord Treaſurer profeſſeth he is at a loſs to find perſons qualified for ſeveral places: another, (which is leſs believed), that the Queen interpoſeth: a third, that it is a trimming diſpoſition. I am apt to think that he finds the call for employments greater than he can anſwer, if there were five times as many to diſpoſe of; and I know particularly, that he diſliketh very much the notion of people, that every one is to be turned out. The Treaſurer is much the greateſt miniſter I ever knew: regular in life, with a true ſenſe of religion, an excellent ſcholar, and a good divine, of a very mild and affable diſpoſition, intrepid in his notions, and indefatigable in buſineſs, an utter deſpiſer of money for himſelf, yet frugal (perhaps to an extremity) for the publick. *In private* company he is wholely diſengaged,

and very facetious, like one who had no buſineſs at all. He never wants a reſerve upon any emergency, which would appear deſperate to others, and maketh little uſe of thoſe thouſand projectors and ſchematiſts, who are daily plying him with their viſions, but to be thoroughly convinced by the compariſon, that his own notions are the beſt.

I am, my Lord,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Your Grace's
Moſt obedient, *&c.*

LETTER XIV.

My Lord, *London, March* 29. 1712.

I Cannot aſk pardon for not ſooner acknowledging your Grace's letter, becauſe that would look as if I thought mine were of conſequence. Either I grow weary of politicks, or am out of the way of them, or there is leſs ſtirring than uſual; and, indeed, we are all in ſuſpenſe at preſent; but I am told that in ten or twelve days time we ſhall know what the iſſue will be at *Utrecht*. I can only tell your Grace, that there are ſome unlucky circumſtances not proper to be truſted to a letter, which have hitherto retarded this great work: *Mihi ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obverſantur*. Mean time we are with great difficulty raiſing funds upon which to borrow five millions. One of thoſe funds is a tax upon paper, and I think 30 per cent. upon imported books, and of ſuch a nature as I could not yeſterday forbear ſaying to my Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor of the exchequer, that inſtead of preventing ſmall papers and libels, it will leave nothing elſe for the preſs. I have not talked to the Duke of *Argyle* upon the affairs of *Spain*, ſince his return; but am told he affirms it impoſſible for us to carry on the war there by our former methods. The Duke of *Ormond* is expected to go in two or three days for *Flanders*. And what I writ to your Grace ſome months ago of the Duke of *Shrewsbury* ſucceeding to govern *Ireland*, will, I ſuppoſe, be ſoon declared. I was the other day

to

to ſee the Dutcheſs, and reported your Grace's compliments, which ſhe took very well; and I told her I was reſolved your Grace and ſhe ſhould be very good acquaintance. I believe the ſpirit of your *Houghers* is got into our *Mohawks*, who are ſtill very troubleſome, and every night cut ſome body or other over the face; and commit a hundred inſolent barbarities.

There was never the leaſt deſign of any impeachment againſt the Duke of *Marlborough*; and it was his own great weakneſs, or the folly of his friends, that the thing went ſo far as it did.

I know not whether it is, that people have talked themſelves hoarſe, but for ſome weeks paſt we have heard leſs of the pretender than formerly. I ſuppoſe it is like a faſhion got into *Ireland*, when it is out here: but in my conſcience I do not think any one perſon in the court or miniſtry here deſigns any more to bring in the pretender than the Great Turk. I hope Mr. *Harley*, who is now on his journey to *Hanover*, will give that court a truer opinion of perſons and things, than they have hitherto conceived. And if your Grace knew the inſtrument through which theſe falſe opinions have been infuſed, you would allow it another inſtance of the *Ludibrium rerum mortalium*. And your Grace cannot but agree, that it is ſomething ſingular for the Prince in poſſeſſion to make perpetual advances, and the preſumptive heir ſtanding off and ſuſpicious.

I know not whether your Grace hath conſidered the poſition that my Lord Treaſurer is viſible in. The late miniſtry and their adherents confeſs themſelves fully reſolved to have his head, whenever it is in their power, and were prepared upon the beginning of the ſeſſions, when the vote was carried againſt any peace without *Spain*, to move that he ſhould be ſent to the tower: at the ſame time his friends, and the tories in general, are diſcontented at his ſlowneſs in the changing of commiſſions and employments, to which the weakneſs of the court-intereſt, in the houſe of Lords, is wholely imputed: neither do I find that thoſe in the greateſt ſtations, or moſt in the confidence of my Lord Treaſurer, are able to account for this proceeding, or ſeem ſatisfied

ſatisfied with it. I have endeavoured to ſolve this difficulty another way; and I fancy I am in the right from words I have heard let fall: but whatever be the cauſe, the conſequences may be dangerous.

The Queen is in very good health, but doth not uſe as much exerciſe as ſhe ought. Pray God preſerve her many years!

A projector hath lately applied to me to recommend him to the miniſtry about an invention for finding out the longitude. He hath given in a petition to the Queen by Mr Sec. *St John*. I underſtand nothing of the mathematics, but am told it is a thing as improbable as the philoſopher's ſtone, or perpetual motion.

I lately writ a letter of about thirty pages to Lord Treaſurer, by way of propoſal for an academy, to correct, enlarge, and aſcertain the *Engliſh* language. And he and I have named above twenty perſons of both parties to be members. I will ſhortly print the letter: and I hope ſomething will come of it. Your Grace ſees I am a projector too.

I am, with great reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful,
And moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

LETTER XV.

My LORD, *London, May* 20. 1712.

WHEN I had the honour of your Grace's letter of *March* 27. I was lying ill of a cruel diſorder, which ſtill purſueth me, although not with ſo much violence; and I hope your Grace will pardon me, if you find my letter to be that of one who writeth in pain. You ſee, my Lord, how things are altered. The talk of a new governor for *Ireland* is dropped. The ſecret is, that the Duke of *Ormond* had a promiſe of a penſion in caſe he loſt his government; but my Lord Treaſurer is ſo exceſſively thrifty, that, to ſave charges, he lets the Duke keep it; and beſides there are ſome other circumſtances

umſtances not proper for a letter, which have great eight in this matter. I count upon it, that whate-er governor goeth over under this miniſtry, a new arliament will be called. Yet I was told that the Duke *Shrewsbury* was pitched on as a ſort of medium be-veen, *&c.* He is a perſon of admirable qualities; nd if he were ſomewhat more active, and leſs timo-ous in buſineſs, no man would be thought comparable o him.

The moderate of the other party ſeem now content o have a peace, and all our talk and expectations are full f it; but I proteſt to your Grace I know not what to rite upon this ſubject, neither could I tell what to ſay I had the honour to be with you. Upon Lord *Straf-ord's* * coming over the ſtocks are fallen, although I xpected, and I thought with reaſon, that they would iſe. There is a trade between ſome here and ſome in *Holland* of ſecrets and lies, and there are ſome among s whoſe poſts let them into an imperfect knowledge of hings, which they cannot conceal. This mixture aketh up the town-talk, governs the price of ſtocks, nd hath often a great deal of truth in it: beſides pub-c affairs have often ſo many ſudden turns and inci-ents, that even thoſe behind the curtain can hardly ronounce for a week. I am ſenſible that I have often eceived your Grace with my wiſe *innuendos*. Yet I erily think that my intelligence was very right at the oment I ſent it. If I had writ to your Grace ſix days go, I would have ventured to have given you hopes hat a peace would ſoon appear, and upon conditions holely ſurpriſing and unexpected. I ſay this to you holely in confidence, and I know nothing yet to hange my opinion, except the deſponding talk of the own, for I ſee nothing yet in the contrivances of the iniſters. It ſeems generally agreed that the preſent Dauphin cannot live, and upon that depend many mea-ures to be taken. This afternoon the bill for appoint-ng commiſſioners to inquire into the grants, *&c.* was hrown out of the houſe of lords, the voices being e-qual,

* *His Lordſhip was one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht.*

qual, which is a great diſappointment to the court, and matter of triumph to the other party. But it may poſſibly be of the worſt conſequence to the grants next ſeſſion, when it is probable the miniſtry will be better ſettled, and able to procure a majority.

I am, with great reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XVI.

My Lord, *Kenſington, Sept.* 30. 1712.

I Have two or three times begun letters to your Grace, and have torn what I writ, hoping I might ſend you ſomething deciſive about the peace. But all ſtill continues to lie very looſe, and I continue to be very deſponding, although the people in affairs laugh at me for it. I have one plain maxim in dealing with thoſe who have more cunning and leſs honeſty than myſelf, which is what we call keeping the ſtaff in my own hand, and contriving that they ſhall truſt me rather than I them. A man may reaſon until he is weary upon this proceeding of the *Dutch*. The ſoldiers tell me that the Duke of *Ormond* could not poſſibly take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, ſince the foreign troops have refuſed to march, and that the ſtates will not ſuffer us to go through their towns. But I had a whiſper from one who ſhould know beſt, that *Dunkirk* might now have been ours if right methods had been taken. And another great man ſaid to a friend of mine above a fortnight ago, that the leaſt wrong ſtep on that ſide the water might have very ill conſequences at this juncture. Mean time the diſcontented party ſeemeth full of hopes, and many of the court-ſide beſide myſelf deſponding enough. The neceſſity of laying the propoſals before the parliament drew us into all this; for now we are in a manner pinned down, and cannot go back an inch with any good grace: ſo that if the *French* play us foul,

foul, I dread the effects, which are too visible to doubt. And on the other side, if the peace goeth smoothly on, I cannot but think that some severe inquiries will be made; and I believe upon very manifest grounds. If there be any secret in this matter of *Dunkirk*, it must be in very few hands, and those who most converse with men at the helm, are, I am confident, very much in the dark. Some people go so far as to think that the *Dutch* will hinder even the *English* forces under the Duke of *Ormond* from going by the *French* country to *Dunkirk:* but I cannot be of that opinion. We suppose a few days will decide this matter, and I believe your Grace will agree that there was never a more nice conjuncture of affairs; however, the court appears to be very resolute: several changes have been made, and more are daily expected. The *Dutch* are grown so unpopular, that I believe the queen might have addresses to stand by her against them with lives and fortunes.

I had your Grace's letter of *May* 29. written in the time of your visiting, from whence I hope you are returned with health and satisfaction.

The difficulties in the peace by the accidents in the *Bourbon* family are, as your Grace observeth, very great, and what indeed our ministers chiefly apprehended. But we think *Philip*'s renouncing to be an effectual expedient, not out of any regard he would have for it, but because it will be the interest of every prince of the blood in *France* to keep him out, and because the *Spaniards* will never assist him to unite the two kingdoms.

I am in hopes yet that your Grace may pay your treat, for it is yet four weeks to *November*, at least I believe we shall be happy or ruined before that time.

It is certain that there is something in what people say But the court is so luckily constituted at present, that every man thinks the chief trust cannot be any where else so well placed, neither do I know above one man that would take it, and it is a great deal too soon for him to have such thoughts.

I humbly thank your Grace for your concern about my health: I have still the remainder of some pains which

which hath partly occaſioned my removing hither about three weeks ago; I was recommended to country-air, and choſe this, becauſe I could paſs my time more agreeably near my friends at court. We think the Queen will go to *Windſor* in three weeks; and I believe I ſhall be there moſt of the time I ſtay in *England*, which I intend until towards the end of ſummer.

My Lord Treaſurer hath often promiſed he will advance my deſign of an academy, ſo have my Lord Keeper, and all the miniſters; but they are now too buſy to think of any thing beſide what they have upon the anvil. My Lord Treaſurer and I have already pitched upon twenty members of both parties; but perhaps it may all come to nothing.

If things continue as they are another ſeſſion, perhaps your Grace may ſee the bill of reſuming the grants * carried on with a great deal more rigour than it lately was. It was only deſired that the grantees ſhould pay ſix years purchaſe, and ſettle the remainder on them by act of parliament, and thoſe grants are now worſe than other lands by more years purchaſe than ſix; ſo that in effect they would have loſt nothing.

I am, with great reſpect,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XVII.

My Lord, *London October* 21. 1712.

SINCE I had the honour of your Grace's letter of *July* 29. which found me at *Windſor*, I have been extremely out of order with a giddineſs in my head, which purſued me until very lately, that by an uneaſy courſe of phyſic I hope I have in ſome ſort overcome it.

We are now in very near expectation of a peace; and your Grace, I hope, will believe it as good a one as the circumſtances of things would allow. I confeſs I agree with your Grace, that the great difficulty was about the danger of *France* and *Spain* being united under one

* This bill paſſed in the negative.

one king. To my knowledge all poſſible means have been taken to ſecure that matter; and yet, after all, the weakeſt ſide will be there. Renunciations by *France* have very juſtly ſo little credit, that I do not wonder ſo little weight is laid on them. But *Spain* we are ſure will, for their own ſakes, enter into all ſecurities to prevent that union, and all the allies muſt be guarantees. If you ſtill object that ſome danger ſtill remains, what is to be done? your Grace is altogether miſinformed, if you think that this is at all the difficulty which ſo long made the *Dutch* untractable. It was nothing leſs: neither have they once mentioned, during all the negociations at *Utrecht*, one ſyllable of getting *Spain* out of the *Bourbon* family, or into that of *Auſtria*, as the chief men have aſſured me not three days ago. *Buys* offered laſt winter to eaſe us immediately of the trouble we were in by Lord *Nottingham*'s vote, if we would conſent to let them ſhare with us in the advantages we had ſtipulated with *France*; which advantages, however, did by no means claſh with *Holland*, and were only conditional if peace ſhould enſue. But, my Lord, we know further, that the *Dutch* made offers to treat with *France*, before we received any from thence; and were refuſed, upon the ill uſage they gave Mr *Torcy* at the *Hague*, and the *Abbe de Polignac* afterwards at *Gertruydenberg*: and we know that *Torcy* would have been forced to apply to them again, if, after ſeveral refuſals, we had not hearkened to their overtures. What I tell your Grace is infallibly true; and care ſhall be taken very ſoon to ſatisfy the world in this, and many other particulars at large, which ought to be known. For the kingdom is very much in the dark after all the pains hitherto taken to inform it. Your Grace's conjectures are very right, that a general peace would not be for our intereſt, if we had made ours with *France*. And I remember a certain great man uſed to ſay two months ago, *Fight on, fight on, my merry men all*. I believe likewiſe that ſuch a peace would have happened, if the *Dutch* had not lately been more compliant; upon which our miniſters told thoſe of *France*, that ſince the States were diſpoſed to ſubmit

to

to the Queen, her Majesty must enter into their interests: and I believe they have as good conditions as we ever intended they should. *Tournay*, I hope, will be yielded to them: and *Lisle* we never designed they should have. The Emperor will be used as he deserveth; and having paid nothing for the war, shall get nothing by the peace. We are most concerned (next to our regard to *Holland*) for *Savoy**, and *France* for *Bavaria*. I believe we shall make them both kings by the help of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. But I know not how plans may alter every day. The Queen's whole design, as your Grace conjectureth, is to act the part of a mediator; and our advantages, too many to insert here, must be owned very great.

As for an academy to correct and settle our language; Lord Treasurer talked of it often very warmly; but, I doubt, is yet too busy until the peace be over. He goes down to *Windsor* on *Friday* to be chosen of the garter, with five more Lords †.

I know nothing of promises of any thing intended for myself; but I thank God I am not very warm in my expectations, and know courts too well to be surprised at disappointments, which however, I shall have no great reason to fear, if I gave my thoughts any trouble that way, which, without affectation, I do not; although I cannot expect to be believed when I say so.

I am, *&c.*

LETTER XVIII.

My LORD, *London, Jan.* 3. 1713.

SINCE I had the honour of your Grace's letter, we have had a dead time of news and politics, and I make a conscience of writing to you without something that

* VICTOR AMADEUS, Duke of *Savoy*, was made King of *Sicily* by this treaty.

† *Henry* Duke of *Beaufort*, captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners; *James*, Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*, Master-general of the ordinance; *Henry*, Duke of *Kent*; *John*, Earl of *Poulet*, Lord Steward of the household; *Robert*, Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*; and *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, one of the plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, *October* 26. 1712.

that will recompenſe the trouble of reading. I cannot but grant that your Grace, who is at a diſtance, and argues from your own wiſdom, and general obſervations and reading, is likely to be more impartial than I, who, in ſpight of my reſolutions and opinion to the contrary, am forced to converſe only with one ſide of the world, which faſteneth prejudice to me, notwithſtanding all I can do to avoid them. Your Grace hath certainly hit upon the weak ſide of our peace; but I do not find you have preſcribed any remedies. For that of limiting *France* to a certain number of ſhips and troops, was, I doubt, not to be compaſſed. While that mighty kingdom remaineth under one monarch, it will be always in ſome degree formidable to its neighbours. But we flatter ourſelves it is likely to be leſs ſo than ever, by the concurrence of many circumſtances too long to trouble you with. But, my Lord, what is to be done? I will go ſo far with your Grace as to tell you, that ſome of our friends are of opinion with the other party, that if this laſt campaign had gone on with the conjunction of the *Britiſh* troops, *France* might have been in danger of being driven to great extreme. Yet I confeſs to you at the ſame time, that if I had been firſt miniſter, I ſhould have adviſed the Queen to purſue her meaſures towards a peace.

Some accidents and occaſions have put it in my way to know every ſtep of this treaty better I think than any man in *England*. And I do aſſert to your Grace, that if *France* had been cloſely puſhed this campaign, they would, upon our refuſal, have made offers to *Holland*, which the republic would certainly have accepted; and in that caſe the intereſt of *England* would have been wholely laid aſide, as we ſaw it three years ago at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*. The Marſhal *d'Uxilles* and *Meſnager**, two of the *French* plenipotentiaries, were wholely inclined to have begun by the *Dutch*; but the third, *Abbe de Polignac*, who hath moſt credit with Monſieur *Torcy*, was for beginning by *England*.

* This gentleman wrote *Minutes* of his *negociations* at the court of *England*, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign, containing many curious particulars.

There was a great faction in *France* by this proceeding, and it was a mere perſonal reſentment in the *French* King and Monſieur *Torcy* againſt the States, which hindered them from ſending the firſt overture there. And I believe your Grace will be convinced, by conſidering that the demands of *Holland* might be much more eaſily ſatisfied than thoſe of *Britain*. The States were very indifferent about the article of *Spain* being in the *Bourbon* family, as Monſieur *Buys* publicly owned when he was here, and among others to myſelf. They valued not the demolition of *Dunkirk*, the frontier of *Portugal*, nor the ſecurity of *Savoy*. They abhorred the thoughts of our having *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, nor cared what became of our dominions in *North-America*. All they had at heart was the ſovereignty of *Flanders* under the name of a barrier, and to ſtipulate what they could for the Emperor to make him eaſy under their encroachments. I can further aſſure your Grace, before any propoſals were ſent here from *France*, and ever ſince, until within theſe few months, the *Dutch* have been endeavouring conſtantly, by private intrigues with that court, to undermine us, and put themſelves at the head of a treaty of peace, which is a truth that perhaps the world may ſoon be informed in, with ſeveral others that are little known. Beſides, my Lord, I doubt whether you have ſufficiently reflected on the condition of this kingdom, and the poſſibility of purſuing the war at that ruinous rate. This argument is not the weaker for being often urged. Beſides, *France* is likely to have a long minority; or, if not, perhaps to be engaged in a civil war. And I do not find that, in public affairs, human wiſdom is able to make proviſions for futurity, which are not liable to a thouſand accidents. We have done all we can; and, for the reſt, *curent poſteri*.

Sir *William Temple*'s memoirs which you mentioned, is his firſt part, and was publiſhed twenty years ago; it is chiefly of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and was ſo well known, that I could hardly think your Grace hath not ſeen it.

I am in ſome doubt whether a fall from a horſe be ſuitable

ſuitable to the dignity of an Archbiſhop. It is one of the chief advantages in a great ſtation, that one is exempt from common accidents of that kind. The late King * indeed got a fall; but his Majeſty was a fox-hunter. I queſtion whether you can plead any precedent to excuſe you; and therefore I hope you will commit no more ſuch errors: and in the mean time I heartily congratulate with your Grace, that I can rally you upon this accident.

I am in ſome fear that our peace will hardly be concluded in ſeveral weeks, by reaſon of a certain incident that could not be foreſeen; neither can I tell whether the parliament will ſit before the concluſion of the peace; becauſe ſome perſons differ in their politics about the matter. If others were no wiſer than I, your ſeſſion ſhould not be deferred upon that account.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful,
And humble ſervant,

LETTER XIX.

My Lord, *London, March* 28. 1713.

Although your humour of delaying, which is a good deal in faſhion, might ſerve me for authority and example in not ſooner acknowledging your Grace's letter, I ſhall not make that uſe of it, but naturally tell you that the public delay hath been the cauſe of mine. We have lived almoſt, theſe two months paſt, by the week, expecting that part would meet, and the Queen tell them that the peace was ſigned. But unforeſeen difficulties have ariſen, partly by ſome miſtakes in our plenipotentiaries, as well as thoſe of *France*, too long to trouble your Grace with, ſince we never reckon all will be at an end; and the Queen hath ſent new powers to *Utrecht*, which her miniſters there muſt obey, I think, or be left without excuſe. The peace will be ſigned with *France*, *Holland*, the Emperor, Savoy,

* *King* WILLIAM III. who died by a fall from his horſe.

ny, Portugal, and *England*; but *Spain* hath yet no minister at *Utrecht*, the Dutch making difficulties about the Duke of *Ossuna*'s passports; but the Marquis *De Monteleon* will soon begin his journey, at least he tells me so. However it is of no great moment whether *Spain* cometh in now, or a month hence, and the parliament will be satisfied with the rest. People here have grumbled at those prorogations until they are weary; but they are not very convenient, considering how many funds are out, and how late it is in the year. They think of taking off two shillings in the pound from the land-tax; which I always argued earnestly against: but the court hath a mind to humour the country-gentlemen, and the thing is popular enough; but then we must borrow upon new funds, which it will be of the last difficulty to invent or to raise. The other party are employed in spreading a report most industriously, that the Lord Treasurer intends, after the peace, to declare for the whigs. They have spread it in *Scotland* to prepare people for the next election; and Mr *Annesly* told me the other day at my Lord Steward's, that he had heard I writ the same to my friends in *Ireland*; which, as it is wholely without ground, so the last is what I never had the least belief of, altho' his Lordship is somewhat of your Grace's mind, in not refusing to converse with his greatest enemies; and therefore he is censured, as you say you are, upon the same account. And to those who charge him with it, (as some are free enough to do it), he only says his friends ought to trust him; and I have some reason to believe, that after a peace the direct contrary will appear. For my own part I entirely agree with your Grace, that a free man ought not to confine his converse to any one party: neither would I do so, if I were free; but I am not, and perhaps much less is a great minister in such a juncture as this. Among many qualities I have observed in the Treasurer, there is one which is something singular, that he will be under an imputation, how wrong soever, without the pains of clearing himself to his nearest friends, which is owing to great integrity, great courage, or great contempt of censure;

cenſure; I know he hath abundance of the two laſt, and I believe he has the firſt.

Your Grace's obſervations on the *French* dexterity in negotiation, as well as their ill faith, are certainly right; but let both be as great as poſſible, we muſt treat with them one time or other; and if miniſters will not be upon their guard againſt ſuch notorious managers, they are altogether inexcuſable. But I do aſſure your Grace, that as it hath fallen in my way to know more of the ſteps of this whole treaty, than perhaps an one man beſides, I cannot ſee that any thing in the power of human prudence, under many difficult conjunctures, hath been omitted. We have been forced to conceal the beſt ſide, which, I agree, hath been unfortunate and unpopular; but you will pleaſe to conſider, that this way of every ſubject interpoſing their ſentiments upon the management of foreign negotiations is a very new thing among us, and the ſuffering it hath been thought, in the opinion of wiſe men, too great a ſtrain upon the prerogative; eſpecially giving a detail of particulars, which, in the variety of events, cannot be aſcertained during the courſe of a treaty.—I could eaſily anſwer the objection of your Grace's friends in relation to the *Dutch*, and why they made thoſe difficulties at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*. And when the whole ſtory of theſe two laſt intriguing years comes to be publiſhed, the world will have other notions of our proceedings. This perhaps will not be long untold, and might already have been, if other people had been no wiſer than I. After all, my Lord, I grant that, from a diſtant view of things, abundance of objections may be raiſed againſt many parts of our conduct. But the difficulties which gave room to theſe objections are not yet ſeen, and perhaps ſome of them will never appear, neither may it be convenient they ſhould. If in the end it appears, that we have made a good bargain for you, we hope you will take it without entering too nicely into the circumſtances. I will not undertake to defend our proceedings againſt any man who will not allow this poſtulatum, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war any

longer; which whoever denies, either hath not examined the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to its debts, or denies it from the ſpirit of party. When a friend of mine objected this to Lord *Nottingham*, he freely confeſſed it was a thing he had never conſidered. But, however, he would be againſt any peace without *Spain;* and why? becauſe he was not privy ſeal. But then, why doth he vote with the Whigs in every thing elſe, although peace hath no concern? becauſe he was not privy ſeal. I hope, my Lord, we ſhall in time unriddle you many a dark problem, and let you * ſee that faction, rage, rebellion, revenge, and ambition were deeply robted in the hearts of thoſe who have been the great obſtructors of the Queen's meaſures, and of the kingdom's happineſs; and if I am not miſtaken, ſuch a ſcene may open, as will leave the preſent age and poſterity little room to doubt who were the real friends and real enemies of their country. At the ſame time I know nothing is ſo raſh as predicting upon the events of public councils, and I ſee many accidents very poſſible to happen, which may ſoon defeat all my wiſe conjectures.

I am, my Lord,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful and
Moſt obedient humble ſervant.

LETTER XX.

My Lord, *London, April* 30. 1713.

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter of the 14th, which at preſent I cannot anſwer particularly: I ſend this to welcome your Grace to the *Bath*, where we conclude you are now arrived; and I hope the deſign of your journey is more for prevention than cure. I ſuppoſe your Grace hath heard that the Queen hath made Dr *Sterne* Biſhop of *Dromore*, and that

* *See* an account of the peace of Utrecht, in the hiſtory of the *four laſt years* of Queen Anne.

that I am to ſucceed him in his deanry. Dr *Parnell* *, who is now in town, writ laſt poſt to your Grace, to deſire the favour of you, that he may have my ſmall prebend: he thinketh it will be ſome advantage to come into the chapter, where it may poſſibly be in my power to ſerve him in a way agreeable to him, altho' in no degree equal to his merits; by which he hath diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that he is in great eſteem with the miniſtry, and others of the moſt valuable perſons in this town. He hath been many years under your Grace's direction, and hath very good title to your favour: ſo that I believe it will be unneceſſary to add how much I ſhould be obliged to your Grace's compliance in this matter: and I flatter myſelf that his being agreeable to me will be no diſadvantage to him in your Grace's opinion.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXI.

My Lord, *London, May* 23. 1713.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your Grace, the 18th inſtant, from *Cheſter*. I was confidently told about three weeks ago, that your Grace was expected every day at the *Bath*; and you will find a letter there as old as that, with a requiſition in favour of Dr *Parnell*, who, by his own merit, is in the eſteem of the chief miniſters here. I am very ſenſible, that the loſs your Grace hath ſuffered in the removal of Dr *Sterne* will never

* A very eminent poet. Two volumes of whoſe poems are publiſhed, the firſt by Mr POPE, in the year 1721, dedicated to ROBERT HARLEY, Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. The other was printed in *Dublin* in the year 1758, with the following title; *The Poſthumous Works of Dr* THOMAS PARNELL, *late of* Clogher; *containing poems moral and divine; and on other various ſubjects.*

Dignum laude virum Muſa vetat mori. HOR.

never be made up by me, upon a great many accounts; however, I ſhall not yield to him in reſpect and veneration for your Grace's character and perſon; and I return you my moſt grateful acknowledgments for the offer you make me of your favour and protection. I think to ſet out for *Ireland* on *Monday* ſeven-night, to be there before the term endeth; for ſo they adviſe me, becauſe the long vacation follows, in which I cannot take the oaths, unleſs at a quarter-ſeſſions, and I had better have two chances than one. This will hinder me from paying my reſpects to your Grace at the *Bath*; and indeed my own health would be better, I believe, if I could paſs a few weeks there: but my remedy ſhall be riding, and a ſea-voyage. I have been inquiring, and am told your Grace's cauſe will hardly come on this ſeſſion; but indeed I have been ſo much out of order for theſe ten days paſt, that I have been able to do nothing.

As to the ſpire * to be erected on St *Patrick*'s ſteeple, I am apt to think it will coſt more than is imagined; and I am confident that no bricks made in that part of *Ireland* will bear being expoſed ſo much to the air: however, I ſhall inquire among ſome architects here.

I hope your Grace will find a return of your health in the place where you are. I humbly beg your bleſſing, and remain, with great reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful
And moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER

* Dr STERNE, (predeceſſor to Dr SWIFT, as Dean of *St Patrick*'s cathedral, *Dublin*) afterwards Biſhop of *Dromore*, from whence he was tranſlated to the ſee of *Clogher*, left a ſum of money to erect a ſpire on the top of that ſteeple, which was built a few years after his Lordſhip's death. It is an octagon of many feet high, built of white hard mountain ſtone, with a gilt ball at the top of it, which may be ſeen at the diſtance of many miles.

LETTER XXII.

My Lord, *Trim, July* 16. 1713.

I HAVE been about five weeks in this kingdom, but ſo extremely ill with the return of an old diſorder in my head, that I was not able to write to your Grace. I have been the greateſt part of that time at my country-pariſh, riding every day for my health. I can tell your Grace nothing from *Dublin*, having ſpent the days I was there between buſineſs and phyſic, and paid no viſits nor received any but one day; and I reckon it no great loſs, for I hear they are all party-mad; and it is one felicity of being among willows, that one is not troubled with faction. I hope you have as little of it at the *Bath*; for I cannot fancy it doth well with waters. If your Grace goeth to *London* from the *Bath*, I believe I may have the honour of waiting on you, although I ſhall do all in my power to ſave the trouble of ſuch a journey, which neither my fortune nor my health will very well bear. I hope you feel the good effects of the place you are in, and I pray God continue your life for the good of his church.

The other day Mr *Thaker*, prebendary of *Sagard* and vicar of *Rathcool*, died; and it would be a great mark of goodneſs in your Grace, as well as a perſonal favour to me, if you would pleaſe to diſpoſe of his livings in favour of Mr *Thomas Warburton*, who hath been many years my aſſiſtant in the cure of *Laracor*, hath behaved himſelf altogether unblameably, and is a gentleman of very good learning and ſenſe. If I knew any one more deſerving I would not recommend him; neither would I do it however, becauſe I know your Grace hath a great many dependents; but that it will be a great uſe to me to have a vicar in one of my rectories, and upon my deanry, in whom I can confide, I am told the livings amount to an hundred and twenty pounds a year at moſt; and it may probably happen in my way to be able to oblige ſome friend of your's

your's in a greater matter, which I ſhall very readily do.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXIII.

My Lord, *London, October* 20. 1713.

THE opportunity I had of a ſhip was ſo ſudden, that I had not time to receive your Grace's laſt commands, or pay my reſpects, which it was my duty and inclination to do; and as for writing, I have always told your Grace, that I could not ſet about it with a good conſcience, until I were provided with matter enough for your trouble of reading. We are outwardly pretty quiet during this interval of parliament; but I will not anſwer what ſeeds are ſowing to make the next ſpring produce better fruit. There are ſeveral reaſons impoſſible for me to tell at this diſtance, why I ſhall not be ſo good a correſpondent as I have formerly been, but may probably ſerve to entertain you a year or two hence: for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away; and there is nothing of ſo little conſequence as the greateſt court-ſecrets when once the ſcene is changed. I ſaid to ſomebody when I was laſt in *Ireland*, who talked to me of the advantage and felicity I had in the familiarity of great miniſters, that it was well enough while it continued a vanity; but as ſoon as it ceaſed to be a vanity, it began to be a vexation of ſpirit. I have ſome thoughts of paſſing this winter at the *Bath*, becauſe my health requireth it, and becauſe I ſhall then be at a pretty equal diſtance from the factions on both ſides the water; for it is not impoſſible your Grace may have a warm winter.

I have had ſome letters, particularly from Dr *Synge* and Mr Archdeacon *Walls*, about my being prolocutor. I have this poſt writ my thoughts upon that ſubject to Mr *Walls*, and to ſave you the trouble, have deſired him to communicate them to your Grace. Our elections

elections for the city ſtill continue: I was this afternoon at *Guildhall*. I find three of the old members, and *Withers*, who is the loweſt, telleth me, he doth not deſpair of carrying it for himſelf. There is abundance of artifice (to give it the ſofteſt word) uſed on both ſides.

I came yeſterday from *Windſor*, where I ſaw the Queen in very good health, which ſhe findeth there more than any where elſe, and I believe will hardly remove until *December*. I believe my Lord Lieutenant * will be landed before this letter cometh to your hands: he is the fineſt gentleman we have, and of an excellent underſtanding and capacity for buſineſs: if I were with your Grace I would ſay more, but leave it to your own ſagacity.

I will only venture to ſay one thing relating to *Ireland*, becauſe I believe it will be of uſe that your Grace ſhould know it. If your houſe of commons ſhould run into any violences diſagreeable to us here, it will be of the worſt conſequences imaginable to that kingdom: for I know no maxim more ſtrongly maintained at preſent in our court, than that her Majeſty ought to exert her power to the utmoſt upon any uneaſineſſes given on your ſide to herſelf or her ſervants: neither can I anſwer, that even the legiſlative power here may not take cognizance of any thing that may paſs among you in oppoſition to the perſons and principles that are now favoured by the Queen. Perhaps I am gone too far; and therefore ſhall end, without any ceremony, Your Grace's, *&c.*

Direct to me under cover to *Eraſmus Lewis*, Eſq; at Mr Secretary *Bromley*'s office at *Whitehall*.

LETTER XXIV.

My Lord, *London, Sept.* 31. 1713.

YOUR Grace's letter which I received but laſt poſt is of an earlier date than what have ſince arrived. We have received the addreſs for removing the Chancellor,

* Charles Talbot, Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Earl of *Waterford* and *Wexford*.

cellor *, and the counter addreſſes from the Lords and convocation; and you will know, before this reacheth you, our ſentiments of them here. I am at a loſs what to ſay in this whole affair. When I writ to you before, I dropt a word on purpoſe for you to take notice of, that our court ſeemed reſolved to be very firm in their reſolutions about *Ireland*. I think it impoſſible for the two kingdoms to proceed long upon a different ſcheme of politics. The controverſy with the city I am not maſter of: it took its riſe before I ever concerned myſelf in the affairs of *Ireland*; further than to be an inſtrument of doing ſome ſervices to the kingdom, for which I have been ill requited. But, my Lord, the queſtion with us here is, whether there was a neceſſity that the other party ſhould be a majority? There was put into my hands a liſt of your houſe of commons by ſome who know the kingdom well: I deſired they would (as they often do here) ſet a mark on the names of thoſe who would be for the miniſtry, who I found amounted to one hundred and forty-three, which I think comes within an equality: twenty names beſides they could not determine upon: ſo that ſuppoſe eight to be of the ſame ſide, there would be a majority by one: but beſides we reckon that the firſt number one hundred and forty three would eaſily riſe to a great majority, by the influence of the government, if that had been thought fit. This is demonſtration to us; for the government there hath more influence than the court here; and yet our court carried it for many years againſt a natural majority, and a much greater one. I ſhall not examine the reaſons among you for proceeding otherwiſe; but your Grace will find that we are determined upon the concluſion, which is, that *Ireland* muſt proceed on the ſame foot with *England*. I am of opinion, my Lord, that nothing could do more hurt to the Whig party in both kingdoms, than their manner of proceeding in your houſe of commons. It will confirm the crown and miniſtry that there can be no ſafety, while thoſe people

* Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord High Chancellor of *Ireland*.

ple are able to give disturbance; and indeed the effects it hath already produced here are hardly to be believed: neither do we here think it worth our while to be opposed and encourage our enemies only for 70,000*l.* a-year; to supply which it may not be hard to find other expedients; and when there shall be occasion for a parliament, we are confident a new one may be called with a majority of men in the interest of the Queen and Church; for when the present majority pretends to regard either, we look upon such professions to signify no more than if they were penned by my Lord *Wharton*, or Mr *Molesworth* *. I have suffered very much for my tenderness to some persons of that party, which I still preserve; but I believe it will not be long in my power to serve those who may want it. It would be endless to recount to your Grace the reproaches that have been made me on account of your neighbour.

It is but true, my Lord, we do not care to be troubled with the affairs of *Ireland*; but there being no war, nor meeting of parliament, we have leisure at present: besides, we look on ourselves as touched in the tenderest part. We know this Whig party are preparing to attack us next sessions, and their prevailing in *Ireland* would, we think, be a great strength and encouragement to them here: besides, our remissness would dishearten our friends, and make them think we acted a trimming game: there are some things which we much wonder at, as they are represented: the address for removing the Chancellor is grounded upon two facts; in the former of which he was only concerned with several others. The criminal was poor and penitent; and a *noli prosequi* was no illegal thing. As to *Moore*'s business, the Chancellor's speech on that occasion hath been transmitted hither, and seemeth to clear him from the imputation of prejudging. Another thing we wonder at, is, to find the Commons in their votes approve the sending for the guards by whom a man was killed. Such a thing would, they say, look monstrous in *England*.

* Created Lord Viscount *Molesworth* by King George I.

Your Grace ſeemeth to think they would not break on money-matters; but we are taught another opinion, that they will not paſs the great bill until they have ſatisfaction about the Chancellor; and what the conſequence of that will be I ſuppoſe you may gueſs from what you know by this time.

My Lord, we can judge no otherwiſe here than by the repreſentations made to us. I ſincerely look upon your Grace to be maſter of as much wiſdom and ſagacity as any perſon I have known, and from my particular reſpect to you and your abilities ſhall never preſume to cenſure your proceedings, until I am fully apprized of the matter. Your Grace is looked upon here as altogether in the other party, which I do not allow when it is ſaid to me. I conceive you to follow the dictates of your reaſon and conſcience; and whoever does that will, in public management, often differ as well from one ſide as another.

As to myſelf I take *Ireland* to be the worſt place to be in while the parliament ſits, and probably I may think the ſame of *England* in a month or two. I have few obligations (further than perſonal friendſhip and civilities) to any party: I have nothing to aſk for but a little money to pay my debts, which I doubt they never will give me; and wanting wiſdom to judge better, I follow thoſe who, I think, are moſt for preſerving the conſtitution in church and ſtate, without examining whether they do ſo from a principle of virtue or of intereſt.

LETTER XXV.

My Lord, *Dublin, Nov.* 13. 1716.

THE reaſon I never gave your Grace the trouble of a letter was, becauſe it could only be a trouble without either entertainment or uſe; for I am ſo much out even of this little world, that I know not the commoneſt occurrences in it; neither do I now write to your Grace upon any ſort of buſineſs, for I have nothing to aſk but your bleſſing and favourable thoughts; only I conceived it ought not to be ſaid, that

that your Grace was ſeveral months abſent in *England*, without one letter from the Dean to pay his reſpects. My ſchemes are all circumſcribed by the cathedral, and the liberties about it, where nothing of moment hath happened ſince your Grace left it, except the election of Mr *Chamberlain* to St *Nicholas*, which paſſed quietly while I was abſent in the country. I am purchaſing a glebe by the help of truſtees for the vicarage of *Laracor*; and I had vanity enough to deſire it might be expreſſed by a clauſe in the deeds as one conſideration, that I had been inſtrumental in procuring the firſt-fruits; which was accordingly inſerted; but hints were given it would not paſs. The then Biſhops of *Offory* and *Killalooe* had, as I am told, a ſum of money for their labour in that affair, who, upon my arrival at *London*, to negociate it, were one of them gone to *Bath*, and the other to *Ireland*: but it ſeemeth more reaſonable to give Biſhops money for doing nothing, than a private clergyman thanks for ſucceeding where Biſhops have failed. I am only ſorry I was not a Biſhop that I might at leaſt have got money. The Tory clergy here ſeem ready for converſion, provoked by a parcel of obſcure zealots in *London*, who, as we hear, are ſetting up a new church of *England* by themſelves. By our intelligence it ſeemeth to be a complication of as much folly, madneſs, hypocriſy, and miſtake, as ever was offered to the world. If it be underſtood ſo on your ſide, I cannot but think there would be a great opportunity of regarding the body of the clergy to the intereſt of the court; who, if they were perſuaded by a few good words to throw off their fears, could never think of the pretender without horror, under whom it is obvious that thoſe refiners would have the greateſt credit, and conſequently every thing be null ſince the time of the revolution, and more havock made in a few months, than the moſt deſponding among the Tories can juſtly apprehend from the preſent management in as many years. Theſe at leaſt are, as I am told, the thoughts and reaſonings of the high-church people among us: but whether a court, in the midſt of ſtrength and ſecurity, will con-

ceive it worth their while to cultivate the diſpoſitions of people in the duſt, is out of my reach.

The Biſhop of *Dromore* hath never been in town ſince he went to his dioceſe, nor doth he ſay any thing of coming up. He is in good health.

I was told a week or two ago, a confuſed ſtory of the anatomy lecturer at the College turned out by the Provoſt *, and another put in his place. I know not the particulars; but am aſſured he is blamed for it both by the Prince and your Grace. I take the Provoſt to be a very honeſt gentleman, perfectly good-natured, and the leaſt inclined to ſpeak ill of others of almoſt any perſon I have known. He hath very good intentions; but the defect ſeemeth to be, that his views are ſhort, various, and ſudden; and I have reaſon to think, he hardly ever maketh uſe of any other counſellor than himſelf. I talked to him of this matter ſince it was done, and I think his anſwers ſatisfied me; but I am an ill retainer of facts wherein I have no concern; my humble opinion is, that it would be much to his own eaſe, and of theirs who diſlike him, if he were put into another ſtation; and if you will not afford him a biſhoprick, that you will let him ſucceed ſome rich country-dean. I dare be confident that the Provoſt had no other end in changing that lecturer, than a deſign of improving anatomy as far as he could; for he would never have made ſuch a ſtep as chuſing the Prince † Chancellor, but from a reſolution of keeping as fair as he poſſibly could with the preſent powers; in regard both to his eaſe and his intereſt; and in hopes of changing a poſt, wherein, to ſay the truth, he hath been uſed by judges and governors like any dog, and hath ſuffered more by it in his health and honour than I, with his patrimonial eſtate, would think it were worth. Here hath been one *Whittingham*, in an ordination ſermon, calling the clergy a thouſand dumb dogs, and treating Epiſcopacy as bad as *Boyſe* ‡; yet

* Rev. Dr. PRATT, afterwards Dean of *Down*.

† GEORGE Prince of *Wales*, afterwards King GEORGE II.

‡ An eminent diſſenting teacher, Miniſter of Woodſtreet meeting-houſe in *Dublin* who wrote ſeveral tracts in favour of Diſſenters.

yet no notice at all ſhall be taken of this, unleſs to his advantage upon the next vacant biſhoprick, and wagers are laid already, whether he or one *Monk* will be the man. But I forgot myſelf, and therefore ſhall only add, that I am, with the greateſt reſpect and truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXVI.

My Lord, *Trim, Dec.* 22. 1716.

I HAVE been here ſome days to finiſh the purchaſe of a glebe for my country-pariſh. I have prevailed on a gentleman to alienate twenty acres for 200 *l.* to be had from the truſtees of the firſt-fruits. He then ſets me twenty-three acres more for 999 years. Upon theſe laſt twenty acres, I am, by agreement, to lay out the ſaid 200 *l.* in building, and to give the gentleman immediately 55 l. out of my own pocket, and to pay him 14 *l. per ann.* for ever, which is near the value of the whole forty acres; theſe laſt twenty acres, after I have built and improved, I deſign to leave my ſucceſſors; who will then have forty acres of good glebe, with houſe, gardens, *&c.* for 14 *l. per ann.* I reckon to lay out of my own money about 250 *l.* and ſo to be an humble imitator of your Grace, *longo intervallo*. This expedient was a project of Dr *Raymond*, miniſter of this town, to deal with a *Jew* who would not leſſen his rent-roll to ſave all the churches in Chriſtendom; Dr *Coghill*, and every body elſe, approves the thing, ſince it is a good bargain to the church, a better to the gentleman, and only a bad one to myſelf; and I hope your Grace will have the ſame thoughts.

Since I came down here I received the honour of a large, and therefore an agreeable, letter from your Grace of *November* 22. I have reaſon to think myſelf hardly dealt with by thoſe of the ſide in power who

will not think I deſerve any place in your good thoughts; when they cannot but know, that while I was near the late miniſtry, I was a common advocate for thoſe they call the Whigs, to a degree, that a certain great miniſter told me, I had always a Whig in my ſleeve; neither did I ever fail to interpoſe in any caſe of merit or compaſſion, by which means ſeveral perſons in *England*, and ſome in this kingdom, kept their employments: for I cannot remember my Lord *Oxford* ever refuſed me a requeſt of that kind. And for the reſt your Grace may very well remember, that I had the honour of correſpondiug with you during the whole period with ſome degree of confidence. Becauſe I know your Grace had wiſhed the ſame things, but differed only in opinion about the hands that ſhould affect them; it was on account of this conduct, that certain warm creatures of this kingdom, then in *London*, and not unknown to your Grace, had the aſſurance to give me broad hints that I was providing againſt a change; and I obſerve thoſe very men are now the moſt careful of all others to creep as far as they can out of harm's way.

The ſyſtem of new zealots, which your Grace extracted, muſt be very ſuitable to my principles, who was always a Whig in politics. I have been told, that upon the death of the laſt non-juring Biſhop, *Dodwell* and his followers thought the ſchiſm at an end. My notion was, that theſe people begun to ſet up again upon deſpair of their cauſe, by the rebellion * being brought to an end, elſe their politics are, if poſſible, worſe than their divinity. Upon the whole it is clear, that the game is entirely in the hands of the King and his miniſters, and I am extremely glad of your Grace's opinion, that it will be played as it ought: or, if we muſt ſuffer for a name, however, I had rather be devoured by a lion than a rat.

That maxim of the injuring perſon never forgiving the perſon injured, is, I believe, true in particular, but not of communities. I cannot but ſuppoſe that the clergy

* The rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1715, in favour of the Pretender.

clergy thought there were ſome hardſhips and grounds for fears, otherwiſe they muſt be very wicked, or very mad; to ſay more would be to enter into diſpute upon a party-ſubject: a dog or a horſe knoweth when he is kindly treated: and beſides a wiſe adminiſtration will endeavour to remove the vain, as well as the real fears of thoſe they govern.

I ſaw the Provoſt yeſterday in this neighbourhood, and had ſome little talk with him upon the occaſion of the Biſhop of *Killalla*'s death; I believe he would accept of the deanry of *Derry*, if Dr *Bolton* the dean ſhould be promoted; but I ſaid nothing of it to him; I believe he hath wrote to Mr *Mulyneaux* *. I find, ſince he cannot be truſted with a biſhopric, that he deſires to leave his ſtation with as good a grace as he can; and that it may not be thought that what he ſhall get is only to get rid of him. I ſaid in general that ſuch a circumſtance, as things ſtood, was hardly worth the quiet of a man's whole life, and ſo we parted, only with telling him I intended to write to your Grace in anſwer to a letter I had from you.

LETTER XXVII.

My Lord, *London, March* 9. 1716-17.

I HAD yeſterday the honour of a letter from your Grace, wherein you firſt mention Mr *Duncan*'s accident, who, as it falls out, is quite recovered, and they ſay is ſince better of his *aſthma*: I believe whenever he dieth, I ſhall be in ſome difficulties, although I am wholely indifferent who may ſucceed him, provided he may be a deſerving perſon; unleſs I might ſay, that my inclinations are a little turned to oblige Mr *Dopping* † on account of his brother, for whom I have always had a very great eſteem. It will be impoſſible for me to carry any point againſt that great majority of the chapter, who are ſure to oppoſe me whenever party

* Samuel Molyneaux, Eſq; a gentleman of great abilities and large property in *Ireland*, ſecretary to the Prince of *Wales*, Chancellor of the univerſity of *Dublin*.

† Dr Anthony Dopping, afterwards Biſhop of Oſſory.

party interferes; and in thoſe caſes I ſhall be very ready to change my nomination, only chuſing thoſe I leaſt diſlike among ſuch as they will conſent to; wherein I hope I ſhall have your Grace's approbation

About a week ago I wrote to your Grace in relation to the Provoſt *. My Lord Biſhop of *Dromore*, Dr *Coghill*, and I, were yeſterday uſing our rhetoric to no purpoſe.—The topic he perpetually adheres to is, that the court offers him a deanry: becauſe they look upon him as a man they cannot truſt, which, he ſays, affecteth his reputation. That he profeſſeth to be as true to the preſent King, as any perſon in employment: that he hath always ſhewn himſelf ſo: that he was ſacrificed by the Tories in the late reign on account of the diſpute in the *College* and other matters: that he publicly argues and appears againſt the ſame party now upon all occaſions; and expecteth as little favour from them, if ever they ſhould come into power, as any man now in employment. As to any hints dropped to him of any danger or uneaſineſs from parliament or viſitation, he declareth himſelf perfectly ſafe and eaſy; and if it might not affect the ſociety, he ſhould be glad of ſuch inquiries, in order to vindicate himſelf: that he ſhould like the deanry of *Down* full as well, and perhaps better than the biſhopric of *Dromore*, provided the deanry was given him in ſuch a manner, and with ſome mark of favour or approbation, that the world would not think he was driven into it as a man whom the King could not truſt; and if any ſuch method could be thought on, he would readily accept it. That he is very ſenſible he ſhould be much happier in the other ſtation, and much richer, and, which weighs with him more, that it would be much for the preſent intereſt of the *College* to be under another head: but that the ſenſe of his own loſs of credit prevails with him above all conſiderations; and that he hopeth in ſome time to convince the world, and the court too, that he hath been altogether miſrepreſented.

This is the ſum of his reaſoning, by all I could gather after ſeveral converſations with him both alone and

* Dr PRATT.

and with ſome of his beſt friends, who all differ from him, as he allows moſt of his acquaintance do. I am no judge of what conſequence his removal may be to the ſervice of the *College* or of any favours to be ſhown it. But I believe it would be no difficult matter to find a temper in this affair: for inſtance, (I ſpeak purely my own thoughts), if the Prince would graciouſly pleaſe to ſend a favourable meſſage by his ſecretary to offer him the deanry, in ſuch a manner as might anſwer the *Provoſt*'s difficulty, I cannot but think your Grace might bring ſuch a thing about: but that I humbly leave to your Grace.

My Lord Biſhop of *Dromore* received letters yeſterday from your Grace, and the Biſhop of *Derry*, with an account of his ſucceeding to *Clogher*, of which I am ſure all parties will be exceeding glad.

I wiſh your Grace a good journey to the *Bath*, and a firm eſtabliſhment of your health there.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

Not knowing but your Grace might be gone to the *Bath*, I have mentioned ſomething of the *Provoſt*'s affairs in a letter this poſt to my Lord Biſhop of *Derry*.

LETTER XXVIII.

My Lord, *Dublin, March* 22. 1717.

YOUR Grace's letter was a long time before it reached me; for I was ſeveral weeks in the country diſpatching the affair of the glebe, which, however, is not yet quite finiſhed. Your Grace doth rightly conceive the nature of my purchaſe, and that I am likely to be 200 *l.* poorer for it, only I ſhall endeavour to loſe by degrees, which is all I have for it. I ſhall *endeavour*, as much as I can, to prevent the evil *you foreſee of my* ſucceſſors neglecting my improvements,

ments, and letting them all go to ruin. I ſhall take the beſt advice I can, and leave them to be fools as well as knaves if they do ſo: for I ſhall make ſo many plantations and hedges, that the land will let for double the value; and after all I muſt leave ſomething to fortune.

As to what your Grace mentions of a practice in the late reign, of engaging people to come into the Queen's meaſures, I have a great deal to ſay on that ſubject, not worth troubling you with at preſent, further than that I am confident thoſe who pretend to ſay moſt of it, are conſcious their accuſation is wrong: but I never love myſelf ſo little as when I differ from your Grace; nor do I believe I ever ſhall do it, but where I am maſter of the fact, and your Grace hath it only by report.

I have been ſpeaking much to the Provoſt about the deanry of *Derry*, or whatever other employment under a biſhopric may be deſigned him upon theſe promotions. I find Dr *Coghill* * hath been upon the ſame ſubject with him, but he is abſolutely poſitive to take nothing leſs at preſent; and his argument is, that whatever ſhall be given him now, beneath the ſtation his predeceſſors were called to, will be a mark of his lying under the diſpleaſure of the court, and that he is not to be truſted; whereas he looketh upon himſelf to have acted with principles as loyal to the preſent government, as any the King employs. He doth not ſeem to diſlike either the deanries of *Derry* or *Down*, but is perſuaded it will reflect upon his reputation; and, unleſs it could be contrived that he might have ſome mark of favour and approbation along with ſuch a preferment, I believe your Grace may be aſſured he will not accept it. I only repeat what he ſays to me, and what I believe he will adhere to.

For my own part, who am not ſo refined, I gave my opinion that he ſhould take what was given him; but his other friends differ from me, and for ought I know, they may be in the right; and if the court thinketh it of conſequence, that the preſent Provoſt ſhould be removed,

* MARMADUKE COGHILL, L. L. D. judge of the prerogative court, afterwards a Privy Counſellor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Commiſſioner of the revenue.

moved, I am not ſure but a way may be found out of ſaving his credit, which is all he ſeemeth to require; although I am confident, that if he were a biſhop, the government might be very ſecure of him, ſince he ſeemeth wholely fallen out with the *Tories*, and the *Tories* with him; and I do not know any man, who in common converſation talketh with more zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, and againſt all oppoſers of it than he. The only thing he deſireth at preſent in his diſcourſing with me is, that no propoſal of a deanry ſhould be at all made to him, but that he may go on as he is until further judgment ſhall be made of him by his future conduct.

I thought it proper to ſay thus much to your Grace, becauſe I did not know whether you and he perfectly underſtood each other.

I hear your Grace intends this ſpring for the *Bath*. I ſhall pray, for the good of the church, that you may then eſtabliſh your health.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful,
And moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

Among other things the Provoſt argued, that Dr *Foſter* was promoted to a biſhoprick from being a fellow; and therefore he muſt conclude, that offering him a leſs preferment, is a mark of diſpleaſure, with which circumſtance he is determined not to leave his preſent ſtation.

LETTER XXIX.

My Lord, *Magherlyn, May* 1. 1717.

YOUR Grace's letter of *March* 23. was brought to me at *Trim*, where I went a month ago to finiſh my leaſe and purchaſe for my country-pariſh. In ſome days after, I met my Lord Biſhop of *Clogher* at *Drogheda* by appointment; we went together to *Clogher*, where he was enthroned, and after three days

days came to this place, where his Lordſhip is ſettling every thing againſt the coming of the new biſhop, who is expected here next week. My great buſineſs at *Clogher* was to ſeduce his Lordſhip to lay out 2000 *l.* in a new houſe, and for that end we rode about to find a ſituation. I know not whether I ſhall prevail, for he hath a hankering after making additions to the old one, which I will never conſent to, and had rather he would leave all to the generoſity of a ſucceſſor. My notion is, that when a biſhop with good diſpoſitions happens to ariſe, it ſhould be every man's buſineſs to cultivate them. It is no ill age that produceth two ſuch; and, therefore, if I had credit with your Grace, and his Lordſhip, it ſhould be all employed in puſhing you both upon works of public good, without the leaſt mercy to your pains or your purſes. An expert tradeſman makes a few of his beſt cuſtomers anſwer not only for thoſe whom he gets little or nothing by, but for all who die in his debt.

I will ſuppoſe your Grace hath heard of Mr *Duncan*'s death. I am ſure I have heard enough of it by a great encreaſe of diſintereſted correſpondents ever ſince. It is well I am at free coſt for board and lodging, elſe poſtage would have undone me. I have returned no anſwer to any, and ſhall be glad to proceed with your Grace's approbation, which is leſs a compliment, becauſe I believe my chapter are of opinion I can hardly proceed without it. I deſire only two things; firſt, that thoſe who call themſelves my friends may have no reaſon to reproach me; and the ſecond, that in the courſe of this matter I may have ſomething to diſpoſe of to ſome one I wiſh well to.

Some weeks before Mr *Duncan*'s death, his brother-in law Mr *Lawſon*, miniſter of *Galtrim*, went for *England* by Mr *Duncan*'s conſent to apply for an adjoining living, called *Kilmore*, in *Duncan*'s poſſeſſion, and now in the crown by his death. I know not his ſucceſs, but heartily wiſh, if it be intended for him, that the matter might take another turn. That Mr *Warren*, who is landlord of Galtrim, might have

that

that living, and *Kilmore* adjoining, both not 150 *l.* and Mr *Lawſon* to go down to Mr *Warren*'s living, in *Clogher* dioceſe, worth above 200 *l.* But this is all at random, becauſe I know not whether *Kilmore* may not be already diſpoſed of, for I heard it is in your Grace's turn.

I heard lately from the Provoſt, who talked of being in the *North* in a month; but our *Dublin* account is, that they know not when the deanry is to be given him. I do not find any great joy in either party, on account of the perſon * who it is ſuppoſed will ſucceed him. The wrong cuſtom of making that poſt the next ſtep to a biſhoprick, hath been, as your Grace ſays, of ill conſequence; and altho', as you add, it gives them no rank, yet they think fit to take it, and make no ſcruple of preceding, on all occaſions, the beſt private clergyman in the kingdom, which is a trifle of great conſequence when a man's head is poſſeſſed with it.

I pray God preſerve your Grace for the good of the church and the learned world; and for the happineſs of thoſe whom you are pleaſed to honour with your friendſhip, favour, or protection. I beg your Grace's bleſſing, and remain, with the greateſt truth and reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful,
And moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXX.

Gallſtown near Kinnegad, Sept. 28. 1721.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter the firſt inſtant; and although I thought it my duty to be the laſt writer in correſponding with your Grace, yet I know you are ſo punctual, that if I ſhould write ſooner, it would only be the occaſion of giving you a

* *Rev. Dr* Richard Baldwin, who died in September 1759

new trouble before it ought, in conſcience, to be put upon you. Beſides, I was in ſome pain that your letter of *Sept.* 1. was not the firſt you had writ, becauſe about ten days after a friend ſent me word that your Grace ſaid you had writ to me ſix weeks before, and had no anſwer; whereas, I can aſſure your Grace, that I received but one from you, nor had I reaſon to expect it, having not done myſelf the honour to write to you before. I will tell you the ſecret of dating my letter: I was in fear leſt the poſt ſhould be gone, and ſo left a blank, and wiſely huddled it up without thinking of the date; but we country gentlemen are frequently guilty of greater blunders; and in that article I grow more perfect every day.

I believe you ſeriouſly, that you will take care of your health to prevent a ſucceſſor; that is to ſay, I believe you tell truth in jeſt; for I know it is not the value of life that makes you deſire to live, and am afraid the world is much of your mind; for it is out of regard to the public, or ſome of themſelves, more than upon your own account, that they wiſh your continuance amongſt us.

It ſeems you are a greater favourite of the Lieutenant's * than you care to own, for we hear that he killed but two bucks, and ſent you a preſent of one.

I hear you are like to be the ſole oppoſer of the bank †, and you will certainly miſcarry, becauſe it would prove a moſt perfidious thing. Bankrupts are always for ſetting up banks: how then can you think a bank will fail of a majority in both houſes?

You are very perverſe, my Lord, in miſinterpreting the ladies favour, as if you muſt die to obtain it; I aſſure you it is directly contrary, and if you die, you will loſe their favour for ever; I am commanded to tell you ſo; and, therefore, at the peril of your life, and of their good graces, look to your health.

I hear the Biſhop of *Bangor* ‡, deſpairing of doing any good with you, hath taken up with *Hereford*. I am

* CHARLES Duke of *Grafton*.

† At this time there was a ſcheme for a national bank, which was rejected by parliament.

‡ *Dr* BENJAMIN HOADLY.

am a plain man, and would be glad at any time to ſee fifty ſuch Biſhops hanged, if I could thereby have ſaved the life of his predeceſſor, for whom I had a great eſteem and friendſhip. I do not much approve the compliments made you by compariſons drawn from good and bad Emperors, becauſe the intereſt falls ſhort on both ſides. If *Julian* had immediately ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, it would have been more to the purpoſe. Sir *James* of the *Peak* ſaid to *Bouchier*, the gameſter, "Sirrah, I ſhall look better than you, "when I have been a month in my grave." A great man in *England* was blaming me for deſpiſing ſomebody or other; I aſſured him I did not at all deſpiſe the man he mentioned, that I was not ſo liberal of my contempt, nor would beſtow it where there was not ſome degree of merit. Upon this principal, I can ſee no proper ground of oppoſition between your Grace and that wretch of *Bangor*. I have read indeed, that a dog was once made King of *Norway*, but I forget who was his predeceſſor; and therefore am at a loſs for the other part of the compariſon.

I am afraid the clatter of ladies tongues is no very good cure for a giddineſs in the head. When your Grace (as you ſay) was young, as I am not, the ladies were better company, or you more eaſily pleaſed. I am perpetually reproaching them for their ignorance, affectation, impertinence, (but my paper will not hold all*) except Lady *Betty Rochfort*, your old acquaintance.

I own my head and your Grace's feet would be ill joined; but give me your head and take my feet, and match us in the kingdom if you can.

My Lord, I row after health like a waterman, and ride after it like a poſt-boy, and find ſome little ſucceſs; but *ſubeunt morbi, triſtiſque ſenectus*. I have a receipt to which you are a ſtranger; my Lord *Oxford* and Mr *Prior* uſed to join with me in taking it; to whom I often ſaid, when we were two hours

* —— Quæ plurima menti
Fœmineæ natura dedit.

diverting ourſelves with trifles, *vive la bagatelle*. I am ſo deep among the workmen at Mr *Rochfort*'s canals and lakes, ſo dextrous at the oar, ſuch an alderman after the hare——

I am juſt now told from ſome news-papers, that one of the King's enemies, and my excellent friend Mr *Prior*, is dead; I pray God deliver me from any ſuch trials. I am neither old nor philoſopher enough to be indifferent at ſo great a loſs; and, therefore, I abruptly conclude, but with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's,
Moſt dutiful, and
obedient ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

LETTER XXXI.

My Lord,

MR *Chetwood* * intends to deliver in a petition to the government to day, and entreated me to ſpeak to your Grace before he delivered it, which not having an opportunity to do, I make bold to incloſe this letter, which your Grace may pleaſe to read; and is the ſubſtance of what he deſired me to ſay.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Grace's moſt dutiful,
And moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

Deanry-houſe,
Feb. 22. 1722-3.

LETTER XXXII.

My Lord,

YOUR Grace will have received, before this comes to your hands, an account of the Primate's death†, who

* KNIGHTLY CHETWOOD, Eſq; who had very good pretenſions to an *Engliſh* peerage; for which he preſented ſeveral memorials, but to no purpoſe.

† Dr LINDSAY, who was ſucceeded by Dr BOULTER, Biſhop of *Briſtol*.

who died yeſterday at twelve o'clock at noon. He had left off ſpitting for about ten days before, and the want of that is thought to have been the immediate cauſe of his death, although he eat heartily until the two laſt days. He hath left the Biſhop of *Kildare* *, and his ſteward Mr *Morgan*, his executors, who were both out of town; but I ſuppoſe are ſent for. Some who formerly belonged to him think he has left 40,000 *l.* others report he died poor.

The vogue is, that your Grace will ſucceed him, if you pleaſe; but I am too great a ſtranger to your preſent ſituation at court to know what to judge. But if there were virtue enough, I could wiſh your Grace would accept the offer, if it ſhould be made you. Becauſe I would have your name left to poſterity among the Primates; and becauſe entering into a new ſtation, is entering after a ſort on a new leaſe of life; and becauſe it might be hoped, that your Grace would be adviſed with about a ſucceſſor; and becauſe that dioceſe would require your Grace's ability and ſpirit to reform it; and becauſe ——— but I ſhould never be at an end if I were to number up the reaſons why I would have your Grace in the higheſt ſtations the crown can give you.

I found all the papers in the cabinet relating to Dr *Stephen*'s hoſpital, and, therefore, I brought them home to the Deanry. I opened the cabinet in the preſence of Mr *Bouhereau* †, and ſaw one paper, which proved a bank note for 500 *l.* the greatneſs of the ſum ſtartled me, but I found it belonged to the ſame hoſpital; I was in pain becauſe workmen were in the room and about the houſe; I therefore went this morning to *St Sepulcher*'s, and, in the preſence of Mrs *Green* ‡, I took away the note, and have ſecured it in my cabinet, leaving her my receipt for it, and am very proud to find that a ſcrip under my hand will paſs for 500 *l.* I wiſh your Grace a

* Dr Ellis.
† A *French* Clergyman.
‡ *The Archbiſhop's* houſe-keeper.

good journey to the eſtabliſhment of your health, and am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's
Moſt dutiful
And moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

Dublin,
July 14. 1724.

To the READER.

IN or about the year 1731, *Mr* Wogan, *a gentleman of an antient and good family in* Ireland, *ſent, a preſent of a caſk of* Spaniſh Caſſala *wine to the Dean, alſo a crimſon velvet bag, with gold and ſilk ſtrings, in which were incloſed a paraphraſe on the ſeven penitential Pſalms of* David, *and ſeveral original pieces in verſe and proſe, dedicated to the Rev. Dr* Swift, *D. S. P. D. whom he never ſaw. This Mr* Wogan *was a gentleman of great bravery and courage, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral battles and ſieges. He was appointed, by the Chevalier de St* George, *in the year* 1718, *to take the Princeſs* Sobieſki, (*grand daughter of the famous* James Sobieſki, *King of* Poland, *who raiſed the ſiege of* Vienna), *to whom he was married by proxy in* Poland, *who, in her journey to* Rome, *was, by order of the Imperial Court, made a priſoner in* Tyroll, *and cloſely confined in the caſtle of* Inſpruck *for ſome time, when Mr* Wogan *undertook to ſet her at liberty, and bring her ſafe to* Rome, *which he effectually performed, by bringing her through all the guards; for which dangerous and gallant ſervice, he was made a* Roman *Knight, which was an honour that was not conferred on a foreigner for many centuries before. This gentleman ſoon after went into the ſervice of* Spain, *where he got a government and other military commands, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many engagements, being well known all over* Europe *by the name of* Chevalier, *or Sir* Charles Wogan.

The

The ANSWER of the Reverend Doctor JONATHAN SWIFT, Dean of *St Patrick's*, *Dublin*, to the author Sir CHARLES WOGAN, an officer of diſtinction in the ſervice of the King of *Spain*.

SIR,

I Received your packet at leaſt two months ago, and took all this time not only to conſider it maturely myſelf, but to ſhew it to the few judicious friends I have in this kingdom. We all agreed that the writer was a ſcholar, a man of genius, and of honour. We gueſſed him to have been born in this country from ſome paſſages, but not from the ſtyle, which we were ſurpriſed to find ſo correct in an exile, a ſoldier, and a native of *Ireland*. The hiſtory of yourſelf, although part of it be employed in your praiſe and importance, we did not diſlike, becauſe your intention was to be wholely unknown, which circumſtance exempts you from any charge of vanity. However, although I am utterly ignorant of preſent perſons and things, I have made a ſhift, by talking in general with ſome perſons, to find out your name, your employments, and ſome of your actions, with the addition of ſuch a character, as would give full credit to more than you have ſaid (I mean of yourſelf) in the dedicatory epiſtle.

You will pardon a natural curioſity on this occaſion, eſpecially when I began with ſo little, that I did not ſo much as untie the ſtrings of the bag for five days after I received it, concluding it muſt come from ſome *Iriſh* friar in *Spain*, filled with monaſtic ſpeculations, of which I have ſeen ſome in my life, little expecting a hiſtory, a dedication, a poetical tranſlation of the penitential Pſalms, Latin poems, and the like, and all from a ſoldier. In theſe kingdoms you would be a moſt unfaſhionable military man, among troops where the leaſt pretenſion to learning or piety, or *common morals*, would endanger the owner to be caſhiered.

caſhiered. Although I have no great regard for your trade, from the judgment I make of thoſe who profeſs it in theſe kingdoms, yet I cannot but highly eſteem thoſe gentlemen of *Ireland*, who, with all the diſadvantages of being exiles and ſtrangers, have been able to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their valour and conduct in ſo many parts of *Europe*, I think, above all other nations; which ought to make the *Engliſh* aſhamed of the reproaches they caſt on the ignorance, the dulneſs, and the want of courage in the *Iriſh* natives; thoſe defects, where-ever they happen, ariſing only from the poverty and ſlavery they ſuffer from their inhuman neighbours, and the baſe corrupt ſpirits of too many of the chief gentry, *&c.* By ſuch events as theſe, the very *Grecians* are grown ſlaviſh, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious. I do aſſert that from ſeveral experiments I have made in travelling over both kingdoms, I have found the poor cottagers here, who could ſpeak our language, to have a much better natural taſte for good ſenſe, humour, and raillery, than ever I obſerved among people of the like ſort in *England*. But the millions of oppreſſions they lie under, the tyranny of their landlords, the ridiculous zeal of their prieſts, and the general miſery of the whole nation, have been enough to damp the beſt ſpirits under the ſun. I return to your packet.

Two or three poetical friends of mine have read your poems with very good approbation, yet we all agree ſome corrections may be wanting, and at the ſame time we are at a loſs how to venture on ſuch a work. One gentleman of your own country, name, and family, who could do it beſt, is a little too lazy; but however ſomething ſhall be done and ſubmitted to you. I have been only a man of rhimes, and that upon trifles, never having written ſerious couplets in my life; yet never any without a moral view. However, as an admirer of *Milton*, I will read yours as a critic, and make objections, where I find any thing that ſhould be changed. Your directions about publiſhing the epiſtle and the poetry, will be a point of ſome difficulty. They cannot be printed here with the leaſt

leaſt profit to the author's friend in diſtreſs. *Dublin* bookſellers have not the leaſt notion of paying for a copy. Sometimes things are printed here by ſubſcription, but they go on ſo heavily, that few or none make it turn to account. In *London* it is otherwiſe; but even there the authors muſt be in vogue, or, if not known, be diſcovered by the ſtyle, or the work muſt be ſomething that hits the taſte of the public, or what is recommended by the preſiding men of genius.

When *Milton* firſt publiſhed his famous poem, the firſt edition was very long going off; few either read, liked, or underſtood it; and it gained ground merely by its merit. Nothing but an uncertain ſtate of my health (cauſed by a diſpoſition to giddineſs, which although leſs violent, is more conſtant) could have prevented my paſſing this ſummer into *England* to ſee my friends, who hourly have expected me: in that caſe I could have managed this affair myſelf, and would have readily conſented that my name ſhould have ſtood at length before your epiſtle; and by the caprice of the world, that circumſtance might have been of uſe to make the thing known; and conſequently better anſwer the charitable part of your deſign, by inciting people's curioſity. And in ſuch a caſe I would have writ a ſhort acknowledgment of your letter, and publiſhed it in the next page after your epiſtle; but giving you no name, nor confeſſing my conjecture of it. This ſcheme I am ſtill upon, as ſoon as my health permits me to return to *England* *.

As I am conjectured to have generally dealt in raillery and ſatyr, both in proſe and verſe, if that conjecture be right, although ſuch an opinion hath been an abſolute bar to my riſing in the world; yet that very world muſt ſuppoſe, that I followed what I thought to be my talent, and charitable people will ſuppoſe I had a deſign to laugh the follies of mankind out of countenance; and as often to laſh the vices out of practice. And then it will be natural to conclude, that I have ſome partiality for ſuch kind of writing, and

* *The laſt time the Dean was in England was in the year 1727.*

and favour it in others. I think you acknowledge, that in ſome time of your life you turned to the rallying part; but I find at preſent your genius runs wholely into the grave and ſublime, and therefore I find you leſs indulgent to my way, by your diſlike of the *Beggar's Opera*, in the perſons particularly of *Polly Peachum* and *Macheath*; whereas we think it a very ſevere ſatyr upon the moſt pernicious villanies of mankind. And ſo you are in danger of quarrelling with the ſentiments of Mr *Pope*, Mr *Gay*, the author, Dr *Arbuthnot*, myſelf, Dr *Young*, and all the brethren whom we own Dr *Young* is the graveſt among us, and yet his ſatyrs have many mixtures of ſharp raillery. At the ſame time you judge very truly, that the taſte of *England* is infamouſly corrupted by ſholes of wretches who write for their bread; and therefore I had reaſon to put Mr *Pope* on writing the poem, called the DUNCIAD; and to hale thoſe ſcoundrels out of their obſcurity, by telling their names at length, their works, their adventures, ſometimes their lodgings, and their lineage; not with *A*——'s and *B*——'s, according to the old way, which would be unknown in a few years.

As to your blank-verſe, it hath too often fallen into the ſame vile hands of late. One *Thomſon* a *Scotſman*, hath ſucceeded the beſt in that way, in four poems he hath written on the four ſeaſons; yet I am not over-fond of them, becauſe they are all deſcription, and nothing is doing; whereas *Milton* engageth me in actions of the higheſt importance,

Modo me Romæ, modo penit Athenis:

and yours on the ſeven pſalms, *&c.* have ſome advantage that way.

You ſee *Pope*, *Gay*, and I, uſe all our endeavours to make folks merry and wiſe, and profeſs to have no enemies, except knaves and fools. I confeſs myſelf to be exempted from them in one article, which was engaging with a miniſtry to prevent, if poſſible, the evils that have over-run the nation; and my fooliſh zeal in endeavouring to ſave this wretched iſland. Wherein, tho'

tho' I ſucceeded abſolutely in one important article*; yet even there I loſt all hope of favour from thoſe in power here, and diſobliged the court of *England*, and have in twenty years drawn above one thouſand ſcurrilous libels on myſelf, without any other recompence than the love of the *Iriſh* vulgar, and two or three dozen ſign-poſts of the *drapier* in this city, beſides thoſe that are ſcattered in country-towns, and even theſe are half worn out So that whatever little genius God hath given me, I may juſtly pretend to have been the worſt manager of it to my own advantage of any man upon earth.

Aug. 2.] What I have above written hath long lain by me, that I might conſider further: but I have been partly out of order, and partly plagued with a lawſuit of ten years ſtanding, and I doubt very ill cloſed up, although it concerns two thirds of my little fortune. Think whether ſuch periods of life are proper to encourage poetical or philoſophical ſpeculations.

I ſhall not therefore tire you any longer, but with great acknowledgement for the diſtinction you pleaſe to ſhow me, deſire to be always thought, with great truth and a moſt particular eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

And obliged ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

We have ſometimes editions printed here of books from *England*, which I know not whether you are in a way of getting. I will name ſome below, and if you approve of any, I ſhall willingly increaſe your library; they are ſmall, conſequently more portable in your marches, and which is more important, the preſent will be cheaper for me.

Dr Young's Satyrs	Gay's Fables
Mr Gay's Works	Art of Politics, and
Mr Pope's Works	ſome other Trifles in
Pope's Dunciad	Verſe, *&c.*

A

* *Againſt Wood's* copper half-pence. See the Drapier's Letters.

A very friendly correſpondence having been carried on for many years between Dr KING, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and Dr SWIFT, D. S. P. D. it may be proper to prefix ſome account of his Grace before the following letters, for which we ſhall make no apology.

WILLIAM KING was born at Antrim *the firſt day of* May, 1650, *and was deſcended from an antient family of the houſe of* Burras *in the North of* Scotland, *from whence his father removed in the reign of King* CHARLES I. *to avoid engaging in the ſolemn league and covenant; brought his effects, and ſettled his family in the North of* Ireland, *where the above* William *was born, and had the pleaſure of living to ſee his ſon promoted to the Biſhoprick of* Derry.

In 1662, *he was ſent to a* Latin *ſchool in the county of* Tyrone, *and the* 18*th of* April, 1667, *entered the Univerſity of* Dublin. *In* 1670, *he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in* 1673, *that of Maſter; and the ſame year was ordained a Deacon by Dr* Moſſom, *Biſhop of* Derry. *On the* 26*th of* April 1674, *he was ordained a Prieſt by Dr* John Parker, *Archbiſhop of* Tuam. *In* 1688, *he was conſtituted Preſident of the Chapter of* St Patrick's, Dublin; *and, on the* 26*th of* January *following, was elected Dean by the Chapter. In* 1689, *he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was promoted to the Biſhoprick of* Derry *on the* 9*th of* January, *O. S.* 1690, *and was conſecrated in* Chriſt Church, Dublin, *the* 25*th of the ſaid month. Upon the promotion of Dr* Narciſſus Marſh, *Archbiſhop of* Dublin, *to the archbiſhoprick of* Armagh, *Dr* King *was tranſlated from* Derry *to the ſee of* Dublin, *the* 11*th of* March, 1702. *His Grace, in the reign of* GEORGE I. *was four different times one of the Lords Juſtices of* Ireland, *for his great loyalty and attachment to the Proteſtant religion, and the houſe of* Hanover. *He died at the archiepiſcopal palace at* St Sepulcher's, Dublin, *on the* 8*th of* May, 1729, *having entered into the* 80*th year of his age, and was buried on the north ſide of* Donnybrook *church, near* Dublin, *without any monument, tomb, or inſcription, as he had directed in his life-time.*

His private charities were very ample and conſidera-

ble; but ſo cautiouſly and ſecretly diſpenſed, that it is impoſſible to give a particular account of them. After he was tranſlated to the ſee of Dublin, *he repaired and adorned the palace of* St Sepulcher's, *which was in a ruinous condition, by expending above* 3000 l. *on improvements, and erected a court-houſe for his archiepiſcopal manor at his own charge. He purchaſed from the late Lord* Roſs, *and others, many impropriate tythes, to add to the livings of the clergy in his dioceſe, to make them glebes, and for lectureſhips.*

He gave in his life-time 500 l. *to the Univerſity of* Dublin, *towards founding a divinity lecture for the benefit of thoſe who intended to enter into holy orders; and deviſed* 500 l. *more to purchaſe a further maintenance and endowment for the ſaid lecture. He alſo deviſed* 150 l. *to the poor of the city of* Dublin. *He gave* 500 l. *in his life-time to the* Blue-Coat *hoſpital in* Dublin, *and* 300 l. *to the fund ariſing from the application of the firſt-fruits, for purchaſing glebes and impropriate tythes for the increaſe of poor vicarages.*

His hoſpitality was ſuitable to the dignity of his character and ſtation, and the whole courſe of his converſation innocent, chearful, and improving; for he lived in the conſtant practice of every Chriſtian virtue that could adorn a public, or private life.

In 1687, Peter Manby, *Dean of* Londonderry, *having publiſhed at* Dublin, *in quarto, a pamphlet, intitled,* The conſiderations which obliged *Peter Manby,* Dean of *Londonderry,* to embrace the Catholic religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace Dr *Francis Marſh,* the Lord Primate of *Ireland; Dr* King *immediately wrote an anſwer. Mr* Manby, *encouraged by the court, and aſſiſted by the moſt learned champions of the church of* Rome, *publiſhed a reply under this title,* A reformed Catechiſm, in two Dialogues, concerning the *Engliſh* Reformation, *&c.* in Reply to Mr *King*'s Anſwer, *&c. Our author ſoon rejoined in* A Vindication of the Anſwer. *Mr* Manby *dropped the controverſy, but diſperſed a looſe ſheet of paper artfully writ, with this title,* A Letter to a Friend, ſhewing *the* vanity of this opinion, that every man's ſenſe and *reaſon* are to guide him in matters of faith. Our au-

thor

thor ſoon publiſhed his anſwer. In 1689, *our author was twice confined in the caſtle of* Dublin, *by order of King* JAMES II. *and the ſame year commenced Doctor of Divinity. In* 1690, *he was advanced to the ſee of* Derry. *In* 1691, *he publiſhed at* London, *in quarto,* The ſtate of the Proteſtants of *Ireland* under the late King *James*'s government, *&c.* "*A hiſtory, ſays Biſhop* Burnet, *as truly as it is finely written.*" *He had by him at his death atteſted vouchers of every particular fact alledged in this book, which are now in the hands of his relations. In* 1693, *his Lordſhip finding the great number of his Proteſtant Diſſenters in his diocefe of* Derry, *increaſed by a vaſt addition of colonies from* Scotland, *in order to perſuade them to conformity to the eſtabliſhed church, publiſhed* A diſcourſe concerning the inventions of men in the worſhip of God. *Mr* Joſeph Boyſe, *a diſſenting miniſter, wrote an anſwer. The Biſhop anſwered Mr* Boyſe. *The latter replied. The Biſhop rejoined. In* 1702, *he publiſhed at* Dublin, *in quarto, his celebrated treatiſe* De Origine Mali. *Mr* Edmund Law, *M. A. Fellow of* Chriſt's-College *in* Cambridge, *afterwards publiſhed a complete tranſlation of this, with very valuable notes, in quarto. In the ſecond edition he has inſerted, by way of notes, a large collection of the author's papers on the ſame ſubject, which he had received from his relations after the publication of the former edition. Our author, in this excellent treatiſe, hath many curious obſervations. He aſſerteth and proves, that there is more moral good in the earth than moral evil. There are ten good acts, ſays he, done by thoſe we call bad men, for one ill one. A ſermon by our author, preached at* Dublin *in* 1709, *was publiſhed under the title of,* Divine predeſtination and fore-knowledge conſiſtent with the freedom of man's will. *This was attacked by* Anthony Collins, *Eſq; in a pamphlet, intitled,* A vindication of the divine attributes: In ſome remarks on the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*'s ſermon, intitled, *Divine predeſtination, &c. He publiſhed likewiſe,* A diſcourſe concerning the conſecration of churches; ſhewing what is meant *by dedicating* them, with the grounds of that office.

LETTERS

FROM

DR SWIFT to DR KING,

Lord Primate and Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

LETTER I.

To his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of DUBLIN.

My LORD, *Dublin-Caſtle, July* 16. 1700.

I Was ſeveral times to wait on your Lordſhip at your lodgings; but you were either abroad, or ſo engaged, that I could not be permitted the honour to attend you. I have an humble requeſt to your Lordſhip, that you will pleaſe to excuſe me if I cannot be at the triennial viſitation; for my * Lord and Lady continually reſiding at the lodge, I am obliged to a conſtant attendance there.

I am, with all reſpect,
My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
And moſt humble ſervant,
JON. SWIFT.

LETTER II.

My LORD, *Trim, Dec.* 31. 1704.

I Did intend to have waited on your Grace before you went for *England*, but hearing your voyage is fixed for the firſt opportunity of the wind, I could not forbear giving you a few minutes interruption, which I hope your Grace will believe to be without

* *Earl of* BERKELEY, then one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland.

out any other design than that of serving you. I believe your Grace may have heard, that I was in *England* last winter, when the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church* had, I think, with great wisdom and discretion, chosen a most malicious, ignorant, and headstrong creature to represent them; wherein your Grace cannot justly tax their prudence, since the * cause they are engaged in is not otherwise to be supported. And, I do assure your Grace, (which perhaps others may have been cautious in telling you), that they have not been without success. For, not only the general run in *Doctors-Commons* was wholely on their side, which my Lord Bishop of *Cloyne* † observed as well as I; but, that little instrument of their's did use all his power to misrepresent your Grace, and your cause, both in town and city, as far as his narrow sphere could reach. And he spared not to say, that your Grace had personal resentment against him; that you sought his ruin, and threatened him with it. And I remember, at a great man's table, who hath as much influence in *England* as any subject can well have, after dinner came in a master in chancery, whom I had before observed to be a principal person in *Doctors-Commons*, when your Grace's cause was there debating; and, upon occasion of being there, fell into discourse of it, wherein he seemed wholely an advocate for *Christ-Church*; for all his arguments were only a chain of misinformations, which he had learned from the same hand; insomuch, as I was forced to give a character of some persons, which otherwise I should have spared, before I could set him right, as I also did in the affair of the late Dean of *Derry*, which had been told with so many falsehoods and disadvantges to your Grace, as it is hard to imagine.

I humbly presume to say thus much to your Grace, that knowing the prejudices that have been given, you

* A law-suit between the Archbishop of *Dublin*, and the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Christ-Church, Dublin, about the right of visiting them, which was given in favour of his Grace.

† Dr CHARLES CROW.

may more eaſily remove them, which your preſence will infallibly do.

I would alſo beg of your Grace to uſe ſome of your credit towards bringing to a good iſſue the promiſe the Queen made, at my Lord Biſhop of *Cloyne*'s interceſſion, to remit the firſt fruits and tenths of the clergy; unleſs I ſpeak ignorantly, for want of information, and that it be a thing already done. But what I would mind your Grace of is, that the crown-rent ſhould be added, which is a great load upon many poor livings, and would be a conſiderable help to others. And I am confident, with ſome reaſon, that it would be eaſily granted, being, I hear, under a thouſand pounds a year, and the Queen's grant for *England* being ſo much more conſiderable than ours can be at beſt. I am very certain, that if the Biſhop of *Cloyne* had continued to ſollicit it in *England*, it would eaſily have paſſed; but his Lordſhip giving it up wholely to the Duke of *Ormond**, I believe it hath not been thought of ſo much as it ought. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the haſte and hurry of this, occaſioned by that of the poſt, which is not very regular in this country; and imploring your bleſſing, and praying to God for your good voyage, ſucceſs, and return, I humbly kiſs your Grace's hands, and remain,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient,

And moſt humbly ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER III.

My LORD, *London, Feb.* 5. 1707-8.

I Have been above a month expecting the repreſentation your Grace was pleaſed to promiſe to ſend me, which makes me apprehend your Grace hath been hindered by what you complained of, the clergy's backwardneſs in a point ſo very neceſſary to their ſervice: and, it is time ill loſt at this juncture, while my Lord

* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord * Lieutenant is here, and in great credit at court, and would perhaps be more than ordinarily ready to ſerve the church in *Ireland*. If I have no directions from your Grace by the end of this month, I ſhall think of my return to *Ireland* againſt the 25th of *March*, to endeavour to be choſen to the living of St *Nicholas*, as I have been encouraged to hope; but would readily return at a week's warning to ſollicit that affair with my Lord Lieutenant while he ſtays here, or in any other manner your Grace will pleaſe to direct.

Your Grace knows long before this, that Dr *Mills* is Biſhop of *Waterford*. The court and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were ſtrongly engaged for another perſon, not much ſuſpected in *Ireland*, any more than the choice already made was, I believe, either here or there.

The two houſes are ſtill buſy in Lord *Peterborough*'s affair, which ſeems to be little more than an amuſement, which it is conceived might at this time be ſpared, conſidering how ſlow we are ſaid to be in our preparations, which I believe, is the only reaſon why it was talked the other day about the town, as if there would be ſoon a treaty of peace. There is a report of my Lord *Galway*'s death, but it is not credited. It is a perfect jeſt to ſee my Lord *Peterborough* reputed as great a Whig as any in *England*, abhorred by his own party, and careſſed by the Tories.

The great queſtion, Whether the number of men in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, was but 8600, when there ought to have been 29,600, was carried on Tueſday in the affirmative againſt the court, without a diviſion, which was occaſioned by *Thomas Hammer*'s oratory. It ſeems to have been no party-queſtion, there being many of both glad and ſorry for it. The court hath not been fortunate in their queſtions this ſeſſion; and, I hear ſome

* THOMAS HERBERT Earl of *Pembroke*.

ſome of both parties expreſſing contrary paſſions upon it. I tell your Grace bare matters of fact, being not inclined to make reflections; and, if I were, I could not tell what to make, ſo oddly people are ſubdivided.

I am, my Lord,
Your Grace's moſt obedient,
And moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

LETTER IV.

My LORD, *London, June* 10. 1708.

I Sent your Grace a long letter ſeveral weeks ago, incloſed in one to the Dean *. I know not whether it came to your hands, having not ſince been honoured with your commands. I believe I told your Grace that I was directly adviſed by my Lord *Sund—*, my Lord *Somers*, Mr *Southwell*, and others, to apply to † my Lord Treaſurer, in behalf of the clergy of *Ireland*, and Lord *Sunderland* undertook to bring me to Lord Treaſurer, which was put off for ſome time on account of the invaſion. For, it is the method here of great miniſters, when any public matter is in hand, to make it an excuſe for putting off all private application. I deferred it ſome time longer, becauſe I had a mind my Lord *Sunderland* ſhould go along with me; but either the one or the other was always buſy, or out of the way; however, his Lordſhip had prepared Lord Treaſurer, and engaged him (as he aſſured me) to think well of the matter, and the other day Lord Treaſurer appointed me to attend him. He took me into a private room, and I told him my ſtory, that I was commanded by your Grace, and deſired by ſome other Biſhops, to uſe what little credit I had to ſollicit (under the direction of my Lord Lieutenant) the remitting the firſt-fruits, which, from the favourable repreſentation of his Lordſhip to the Queen, about four years ago, the clergy were encouraged to hope it would be granted: that I had been told it might be of uſe, if ſome perſon could be admitted to his preſence,

* Dr STERNE. † Earl of Godolphin.

ſence, at his uſual times of being attended, in order to put him in mind; for the reſt, they relied entirely on his Excellency's good offices, and his Lordſhip's diſpoſitions to favour the church. He ſaid, in anſwer, he was paſſive in this buſineſs: that he ſuppoſed my Lord Lieutenant would engage in it, to whom, if I pleaſed, he would repeat what I had ſaid. I replied, I had the honour of being well known to his Excellency; that I intended to aſk his leave to ſollicit this matter with his Lorſhip, but had not mentioned it yet, becauſe I did not know whether I had credit enough to gain that acceſs he was now pleaſed to honour me with: that upon his Lordſhip's leave to attend him, ſignified to me by the Earl of *Sunderland*, I went to inform his Excellency, not doubting his conſent, but did not find him at home, and therefore ventured to come, but not knowing how his Excellency might underſtand it, I begged his Lordſhip to ſay nothing to my Lord Lieutenant, until I had the honour to wait on him again. This my Lord Treaſurer agreed to, and entering on the ſubject, told me, that ſince the Queen's grant of the firſt-fruits here, he was confident, not one clergyman in *England* was a ſhilling the better. I told him I thought it lay under ſome incumbrances; he ſaid it was true; but beſide, that was wholely abuſed in the diſtribution; that as to thoſe in *Ireland*, they were an inconſiderable thing, not above 1000 *l.* or 12 *l.* a year, which was almoſt nothing for the Queen to grant, upon two conditions. Firſt, That it ſhould be well diſpoſed of. And ſecondly, That it ſhould be received with due acknowledgements; in which caſes he would give his conſent, otherwiſe, to deal freely with me, he never would. I ſaid as to the firſt, that I was confident the Biſhops would leave the methods of diſpoſing it entirely to her Majeſty's breaſt; as to the ſecond, her Majeſty, and his Lordſhip might count upon all the acknowledgements that the moſt grateful and dutiful ſubjects could pay to a prince. That I had the misfortune to be altogether unknown to his Lordſhip, elſe I ſhould preſume to aſk him, whether he underſtood any particular acknowledgements? he replied, By acknowledgements,

knowledgements, I do not mean any thing under their hands, but I will ſo far explain myſelf to tell you, I mean better acknowledgements than thoſe of the clergy of *England*. I then begged his Lordſhip to give me his advice, what ſort of acknowledgements he thought fitteſt for the clergy to make, which I was ſure would be of mighty weight with them. He anſwered, I can only ſay again, ſuch acknowledgements as they ought. We had ſome other diſcourſe of leſs moment, and after licence to attend him on occaſion, I took my leave. I tell your Grace thoſe particulars, in his very words, as near as I can recollect, becauſe I think them of moment, and I believe your Grace may think them ſo too. I told *Southwell* all that paſſed, and we agreed in our comments; which I deſired him now to inform you. He ſet out for *Ireland* this morning: I am reſolved to ſee my Lord *Sund*— in a day or two, and relate what my Lord Treaſurer ſaid, (as he hath commanded me to do), and perhaps I may prevail on him to let me know his Lordſhip's meaning, to which I am prepared to anſwer, as Mr *Southwell* will let you know. At Evening the ſame day, I attended my Lord Lieutenant, and deſired to know what progreſs he had made, and at the ſame time propoſed that he would give me leave to attend Lord Treaſurer, only as a common ſollicitor, to refreſh his memory. I was very much ſurpriſed at his anſwer, that the matter was not before the Treaſurer, but entirely with the Queen, and therefore it was needleſs; upon which I ſaid nothing of having been there. He ſaid he had writ lately to your Grace, on account of what was done; that ſome progreſs was made, that they put it off becauſe it was not a time of war, but that he had ſome hopes it would be done; but this is only ſuch an account as his Excellency thinks fit to give, although I ſend it your Grace by his orders. I hope, that in his letters he is fuller. My Lord Treaſurer on the other hand aſſured me, he had the papers, which his Excellency denied, and talked of it as a matter that had long lain before him, which ſeveral perſons in great employments aſſure me is and muſt be true. Thus your

Grace

Grace ſees, that I ſhall have nothing more to do in this matter, further than purſuing the cold ſcent of aſking his Excellency once a month, how it goeth on? which, I think, I had as good forbear, ſince it will turn to little account. All I can do is to engage my Lord *Sunderland*'s intereſt with my Lord Treaſurer, whenever it is brought before him, or to hint it to ſome other perſons of power and credit, and likewiſe to endeavour to take off that ſcandal the clergy of *Ireland* lie under, of being the reverſe of what they really are, with reſpect to the revolution, loyalty to the Queen, and ſettlement to the crown; which is here the conſtruction of the word Tory.

I deſign to tell my Lord Treaſurer, that this being a matter my Lord Lieutenant hath undertaken, he doeth not think it proper I ſhould trouble his Lordſhip; after which, recommending it to his goodneſs, I ſhall forbear any further mention. I am ſenſible how lame and tedious an account this is, and humbly beg your Grace's pardon; but I ſtill inſiſt, that if it had been ſollicited four years ago by no abler a hand than my own, while the Duke of *Ormond* was in *Ireland*, it might have been done in a month; and, I believe, it may be ſo ſtill, if his Excellency lays any weight of his credit upon it; otherwiſe, God knows when. For myſelf, I have nothing more to do here but to attend my Lord Lieutenant's motions, of whoſe return we are very uncertain, and to manage ſome perſonal affairs of my own. I beg the continuance of your Grace's favour, and your bleſſing,

And am, with all reſpect,

Your Grace's moſt obedient, *&c.*

LETTER V.

MY LORD, *London, Nov.* 9. 1708.

YOUR Grace's letter of *September* 7. found me in *Kent*, where I took the opportunity to retire, during my Lord *Pembroke*'s abſence with his new lady (*who are both expected to-morrow*); I went afterwards

wards to *Epſom*, and returned but yeſterday: this was the cauſe of my ſo long omitting to acknowledge your letter. I am ready to agree with your Grace, that very wrong repreſentations are made of things and perſons here, by people who reſide on this ſide but a ſhort time, converſe at ſecond or third hand, and on their return make a vanity of knowing more than they do. This I have obſerved myſelf in *Ireland*, even among people of ſome rank and quality; and I believe your Grace will proceed on much better grounds, by truſting to your own wiſdom and experience of things, than ſuch intelligence.

I ſpoke formerly all I knew of the twentieth parts, and whatever Mr *D*—— hath ſaid in his letters about ſtaying until a peace, I do aſſure your Grace, is nothing but words. However, that matter is now at end. There is a new world here, and yet I agree with you, that if there be an inter-regnum, it will be the propereſt time to addreſs my Lord Treaſurer; and I ſhall ſecond it with all the credit I have, and very openly; and I know not (if one difficulty lie in the way) but it may prove a lucky juncture.

On my return from *Kent*, (the night of the Prince's * death), I ſtaid a few days in town before I went to *Epſom*: I then viſited a certain great man, and we entered very freely into diſcourſe upon the preſent juncture. He aſſured me there was no doubt now of the ſcheme holding about the admiralty, the government of *Ireland*, and precedency of the council; the diſpoſition whereof your Grace knoweth as well as I; and, although I care not to mingle public affairs with the intereſt of ſo private a perſon as myſelf: yet, upon ſuch a revolution, not knowing how far my friends may endeavour to engage me in the ſervice of a new government, I would beg your Grace to have favourable thoughts of me on ſuch an occaſion, and to aſſure you that no proſpect of making my fortune, ſhall ever prevail on me to go againſt what becometh a man of conſcience and truth, and an entire friend to the eſtabliſhed church. This I ſay

* GEORGE Prince of Denmark, huſband of Queen ANNE

in caſe ſuch a thing ſhould happen, for my own thoughts are turned another way, if the Earl of *Berkley*'s journey to *Vienna* holds, and the miniſtry will keep their promiſe of making me the Queen's Secretary; by which I ſhall be out of the way of parties, until it ſhall pleaſe God I have ſome place to retire to, a little above contempt: or, if all fail, until your Grace and the Dean of *St Patrick*'s ſhall think fit to diſpoſe of that poor town-living † in my favour.

Upon this event of the Prince's death, the contention deſigned with the court about a ſpeaker is dropt, and all agree in Sir *Richard Onſlow*, which is looked on as another argument for the ſcheme ſucceeding. This I had from the ſame hand.

As to a comprehenſion which your Grace ſeems to doubt an intention of, from what was told me, I can ſay nothing; doubtleſs, it muſt be intended to come to that at laſt, if not worſe; but I believe at preſent, it was meant, that there ſhould be a conſent to wha wasendeavoured at in your parliament laſt ſeſſion.

I thought to have writ more largely to your Grace, imagining I had much matter in my head, but it fails, or is not convenient at preſent. If the ſcheme holds, I ſhall make bold to tell your Grace my thoughts as formerly, under cover, becauſe I believe there will be a great deal to be thought of and done. A little time may produce a great deal. Things are now in great ſuſpenſe both at home and abroad. The parliament we think will have no prorogation. There is no talk of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s return yet. Speculative people talk of a peace this winter, of which I can form no proſpect, according to our demands.

I am, my Lord, your Grace's
Moſt obedient, humble ſervant.

J. S.

Your Grace will pleaſe to direct your commands to me at *St. James*'s coffee-houſe, in *St. James's-ſtreet*.

† St NICHOLAS.

LETTER VI.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 30. 1708.

I WRIT to you about a fortnight ago, after my return from the country, and gave you ſome account of an intended change at court, which is now finiſhed. Care was taken to put Lord *Pembroke* in mind of the firſt-fruits before he went out of his office; but it was needleſs, for his Excellency had it at heart, and the thing is done, of which, I ſuppoſe, you have an account. You know who goes over chaplain; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral other Biſhops, and the Lord Treaſurer himſelf ſollicited that matter in a body: it was thought abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering the diſmal notion they have here of ſo many high-church Archbiſhops among you; and your friend made no application, for reaſons left you to gueſs. I cannot yet learn whether you are to have a new parliament; but I am apt to think you will, and that it muſt be thought neceſſary.——The affair of *Droghe-da* * hath made a noiſe here, and, like every thing elſe on your ſide, is uſed as a handle; I have had it rung in my ears from certain perſons. I hope you are prepared to take off the ſacramental teſt, becauſe that will be a means to have it taken off here among us; and that the clergy will be for it, in conſideration of the Queen's bounty, and that men in employment will be ſo wiſe to pleaſe the court, and ſecure themſelves: but, to think there is any deſign of bringing the *Scots* into offices, is a mere ſcandal.

Lord *Pembroke* is to have the admiralty only a few months, then to have a penſion of 4000 *l.* a year, and to retire; and it is thought Lord *Oxford* † will ſucceed him, and then it is hoped, there will be an entire change in the admiralty; that Sir *John Leak* will be turned out, and the *Whigs* ſo well confirmed, that it will

* Some diſputes in corporation-affairs.

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will not be in the power of the court upon a peace to bring the balance on the other ſide.

One Mr *Shute* is named for Secretary to Lord *Wharton:* he is a young man, but reckoned the ſhrewdeſt head in *England:* and the perſon in whom the *Presbyterians* chiefly confide; and, if money be neceſſary towards the good work in *Ireland*, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000 *l.* from the body of *Diſſenters* here. As to his principles, he is truly a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently, *&c.*

The clergy are here in an uproar upon their being prorogued: the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* taketh pains to have it believed it was a thing done without his knowledge. A divine of note (but of the wrong ſide) was with me the other day, and ſaid, he had it from a good hand, that the reaſon of this proceeding was an intention of putting the parliament on examining and correcting courts eccleſiaſtic, *&c.*

The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* is repreſented here as one that will very much oppoſe our deſigns; and, although I will not ſay that the obſervator is paid for writing as he doth; yet I can poſitively affirm to you, that whatever he ſays of that Biſhop, or of the affairs of *Ireland*, or thoſe here, is exactly agreeable to our thoughts and intentions.

This is all I can recollect, fit to inform you at preſent.——If you pleaſe I ſhall from time to time ſend you any thing that cometh to my knowledge that may be worth your notice.

I am, *&c.*

LETTER VII.

My Lord, *London, Jan.* 6. 1709.

BEfore I received the honour of your Grace's of *Nov.* 20. I had ſent one incloſed, *&c.* with what account I could of affairs. Since that time the meaſures are altered of diſſolving your parliament, which, *doubtleſs, is* their wiſeſt courſe for certain obvious

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reaſons, that your Grace will eaſily apprehend, and I ſuppoſe you have now received directions about proroguing it, for I ſaw the order ſome days ago. I ſhould have acknowledged your Grace's letter, if I had not been ever ſince perſecuted with a cruel diſtemper, a giddineſs in my head, that would not ſuffer me to write or think of any thing; and of which I am now ſlowly recovering. I ſent you word of the affairs of the firſt-fruits being performed, which my Lord *Pembroke* had the goodneſs to ſend me immediate notice of I ſeldom ſee his Lordſhip now, but when he pleaſeth to command me, for he ſees no body in public, and is very full of buſineſs. I fancy your Grace will think it neceſſary that in due time his Lordſhip ſhould receive ſome kind of thanks in form: I have a fair pretence to merit in this matter, although in my own conſcience, I think I have very little, (except my good wiſhes, and frequent reminding my Lord *Pembroke*). But, two great men in office, giving me joy of it, very frankly told me, that if I had not ſmoothed the way, by giving them and the reſt of the miniſtry a good opinion of the juſtice of the thing, it would have met with oppoſition; upon which I only remarked, what I have always obſerved in courts, that when a favour is done, there is no want of perſons to challenge obligations. Mean time I am in a pretty condition, who have bills of merit given me, that I muſt thankfully acknowledge, and yet cannot honeſtly offer them in payment. I ſuppoſe the clergy will in due time ſend the Queen an addreſs of thanks for her favour.

I very much applaud your Grace's ſanguine temper, as you call it, and your compariſon of religion to paternal affection; but the world is divided into two ſects, thoſe that hope the beſt, and thoſe that fear the worſt; your Grace is of the former, which is the wiſer, the nobler, and moſt pious principle; and although I endeavour to avoid being of the other, yet upon this article, I hear ſometimes ſtrange weakneſſes; I compare true religion to learning and civility which have ever been in the world, but very often ſhifted their ſcenes, ſometimes entirely leaving whole countries where they

have

have long flouriſhed, and removing to others that before were barbarous, which hath been the caſe of Chriſtianity itſelf, particularly in many parts of *Africa*, and how far the wickedneſs of a nation may provoke God Almighty to inflict ſo great a judgment, is terrible to think. But as great Princes, when they have ſubdued all about them, preſently have univerſal monarchy in their thoughts, ſo your Grace having conquered all the corruptions in a dioceſe, and then purſued your victories over a province, would fain go further and ſave a whole kingdom, and would never be quiet, if you could have your will, until you had converted the world.

And this reminds me of a pamphlet lately come out, pretended to be a letter hither from *Ireland*, againſt repealing the teſt; wherein your Grace's character is juſtly ſet forth: for the reſt, ſome parts are very well, and others puerile, and ſome facts, as I am informed, wrong repreſented. The author hath gone out of his way, to reflect on me as a perſon likely to write for repealing the teſt, which I am ſure is very unfair treatment. This is all I am likely to get by the company I keep. I am uſed like a ſober man with a drunken face, have the ſcandal of the vice without the ſatisfaction. I have told the miniſtry, with great frankneſs, my opinion, that they would never be able to repeal it, unleſs ſuch changes ſhould happen as I could not foreſee, and they all believe I differ from them in that point.

Mr *Addiſon* who goes over firſt Secretary, is a moſt excellent perſon, and being my moſt intimate friend, I ſhall uſe all my credit to ſet him right in his notions of perſons and things. I ſpoke to him with great plainneſs upon the ſubject of the teſt, and he ſays, he is confident, my Lord *Wharton* will not attempt it, if he finds the bent of the nation againſt it.—I will ſay nothing further of his character to your Grace at preſent, becauſe he hath half perſuaded me to have ſome thoughts of returning to *Ireland*, and then it will be time enough: but, if that happens otherwiſe, I preſume to recommend him to your Grace as a perſon you *will think* worth your acquaintance.

My Lord *Berkley* begins to drop his thoughts of going to *Vienna*, and indeed I freely gave my opinion againſt ſuch a journey, for one of his age and infirmities. And I ſhall hardly think of going Secretary without him, although the Emperor's miniſters here think I will, and have writ to *Vienna*. I agree with your Grace, that ſuch a deſign was a little too late at my years; but, conſidering myſelf wholely uſeleſs in *Ireland*, and in a pariſh with an audience of half a ſcore, and it being thought neceſſary that the Queen ſhould have a Secretary at that court, my friends telling me it would not be difficult to compaſs it, I was a little tempted to paſs ſome time abroad, until my friends would make me a little eaſier in my fortune at home. Beſide, I had hopes of being ſent in time to ſome other court, and in the mean while the pay would be forty ſhillings a day, and the advantage of living, if I pleaſed, in Lord *Berkley*'s family. But, I believe, this is now all at an end.

I am, my Lord,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Your Grace's
Moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
J. SWIFT.

My Lord *Wharton* ſays, he intends for *Ireland* the beginning of *March*.

LETTER VIII.

My Lord, *March* 6. 1709.

I Should have acknowledged your's of *Feb.* 10. long ago, if I had not ſtayed to ſee what became of the firſt-fruits. I have likewiſe your's of the 12th inſtant. I will now tell you the proceedings in this unhappy affair. Some time after the Prince's * death, Lord *Pembroke* ſent me word by Sir *Andrew Fountain*, that the Queen had granted the thing, and afterwards took the

* See Note, p. 308.

the compliment I made him upon it. He likewiſe (I ſuppoſe) writ to the ſame purpoſe himſelf to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*. I was then for a long time purſued by a cruel illneſs, that ſeized me at fits, and hindered me in meddling in any buſineſs; neither indeed could I at all ſuſpect there was any need to ſtir any more in this, until often aſking Mr *Addiſon*, whether he had any orders about it? I was a little in pain, and deſired Mr *Addiſon* to inquire at the treaſury, whether ſuch a grant had then paſſed? and, finding an unwillingneſs, I inquired myſelf; where Mr *Taylor* aſſured me there was never any orders for ſuch a grant. This was a month ago, and then I began to deſpair of the whole thing. Lord *Pembroke* was hard to be ſeen; neither did I think it worth talking the matter with them. What perplexed me moſt was, why he ſhould tell me, and write to *Ireland*, that the buſineſs was done. (For if the account he ſent to *Ireland*, were not as poſitive as what he gave me, I ought to be told ſo from thence.) I had no opportunity of clearing this matter until the day I received your laſt letter, when his explanation was, that he had been promiſed he ſhould carry over the grant, when he returned to *Ireland*, and that his memorial was now in the treaſury. Yet, when I had formerly begged leave to follow this matter with Lord *Pembroke* only, in the form of common ſolliciting, he was uneaſy, and told me Lord *Pembroke* had nothing at all to do with it; but that it was a matter purely between the Queen and himſelf, (as I have told you in former letters), which, however, I knew then to be otherwiſe, from Lord *Pembroke* himſelf. So that all I had left me to do was only the cold amuſement of now and then refreſhing Lord *Pembroke*'s memory, or giving the miniſtry, as I could find opportunity, good diſpoſitions towards the thing. Upon this notice from Lord *Pembroke*, I immediately went to Lord *Wharton*, (which was the firſt attendance I ever paid him); he was then in a great crowd; I told him my buſineſs; he ſaid, he could not then diſcourſe of it with me, but would the next day. I gueſſed the meaning of that; and ſaw the very perſon I expected, juſt come from

him.

him. Then I gave him an account of my errand. I think it not convenient to repeat here the particulars of his anſwer; but the formal part was this. That he was not yet properly Lord Lieutenant until he was ſworn; that he expected the ſame application ſhould be made to him, as had been done to other Lord Lieutenants; that he was very well diſpoſed, *&c.* I took the boldneſs to begin anſwering thoſe objections, and deſigned to offer ſome reaſons; but he roſe ſuddenly, turned off the diſcourſe, and ſeemed in haſte; ſo I was forced to take my leave. I had an intention to offer my reaſons in a memorial, but was adviſed, by very good hands, to let it alone, as infallibly to no purpoſe. And, in ſhort, I obſerve ſuch a reluctance in ſome friends, whoſe credit I would employ, that I begin to think no further of it.

I had writ thus far without receiving a former letter from the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, wherein he tells me poſitively, that Lord *Pembroke* had ſent him word the firſt-fruits were granted, and that Lord *Wharton* would carry over the Queen's letter, *&c.* I appeal to you, what any man could think after this? neither indeed had I the leaſt ſuſpicion, until Mr *Addiſon* told me he knew nothing of it: and that I had the ſame account from the treaſury. It is wonderful, a great miniſter ſhould make no difference between a grant, and the promiſe of a grant. And, it is as ſtrange, that all I could ſay would not prevail on him to give me leave to ſollicit the finiſhing it at the treaſury, which could not have taken the leaſt grain of merit from him. Had I the leaſt ſuſpected it had been only a promiſe, I would have applied to Lord *Wharton* above two months ago; and ſo I believe would the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, from *Ireland*; which might have prevented, at leaſt, the preſent excuſe, of not having had the ſame application; although others might, I ſuppoſe, have been found.

I ſent laſt poſt by the Lord Lieutenant's commands, an incloſed letter, from his Excellency, to the Lord Primate. In anſwer to a paſſage in your former letter. Mr *Stoughton* is recommended for a chaplain to the

Lord

Lord Lieutenant. His ſermon is much recommended by ſeveral here. He is a prudent perſon, and knows how to time things. Others of ſomewhat better figure are as wiſe as he. A bold opinion is a ſhort eaſy way to merit, and very neceſſary for thoſe who have no other.

I am extremely afflicted with a cold, and cough attending it, which muſt excuſe any thing, until expreſſed in this letter. Neither is it a ſubject in the preſent circumſtances very pleaſant to dwell upon.

I am, *&c.*

LETTER IX.

My Lord, *London, Sept.* 19. 1710.

I Arived here on Thurſday laſt, and inquiring for the two Biſhops, I found my Lord of * *Oſſory* was gone ſome time ago, and the Biſhop of *Killala* † I could not hear of until next day, when I found he was ſet out early in the morning for *Ireland*; ſo that the letter to their Lordſhips is ſo far to no purpoſe. I cannot yet learn whether they left any papers behind them; neither ſhall I much inquire; and to ſay the truth I was leſs ſollicitous to aſk after the Biſhop of *Killala*, when I heard the other was gone. They tell me, all affairs in the treaſury are governed by Mr ‡ *Harley*, and that he is the perſon uſually applied to; only of late, my Lord *Powlet*, upon what people have talked to him that way, hath exerted himſelf a little, and endeavours to be as ſignificant as he can. I have opportunities enough of getting ſome intereſt with his Lordſhip, who hath formerly done me good offices, although I have no perſonal acquaintance with him. After which I will apply to Mr *Harley*, who formerly made ſome advances towards me, and unleſs he be altered, will, I believe, think himſelf in the right to uſe me well: but I am inclined to ſuſpend any particular ſollicitations until I hear from your Grace, and am informed what progreſs the two Biſhops have made; and

* *Dr* John Harstrong. † Dr Wm. Lloyd.

‡ Robert Harley, *Eſq; afterwards* Earl of Oxford, *often mentioned in theſe works.*

him. Then I gave him an account of my errand. I think it not convenient to repeat here the particulars of his anſwer; but the formal part was this That he was not yet properly Lord Lieutenant until he was ſworn; that he expected the ſame application ſhould be made to him, as had been done to other Lord Lieutenants; that he was very well diſpoſed, *&c.* I took the boldneſs to begin anſwering thoſe objections, and deſigned to offer ſome reaſons; but he roſe ſuddenly, turned off the diſcourſe, and ſeemed in haſte; ſo I was forced to take my leave. I had an intention to offer my reaſons in a memorial, but was adviſed, by very good hands, to let it alone, as infallibly to no purpoſe. And, in ſhort, I obſerve ſuch a reluctance in ſome friends, whoſe credit I would employ, that I begin to think no further of it.

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I [illegible]

an [illegible]

P[illegible]

[illegible]

and until I receive their papers, with what other directions your Grace will pleaſe to ſend me.

Upon my arrival here, I found myſelf equally careſſed by both parties, by one as a ſort of purge for drawing me to lay hold of, and by the other as one diſcontented with the late men in power, for not being thorough in their deſigns, and therefore ready to approve preſent things. I was to viſit my Lord *Godolphin*, who gave me a reception very unexpected, and altogether different from what I ever received from any great man in my life, altogether ſhort, dry, and moroſe, not worth repeating to your Grace, until I have the honour to ſee you: I complained of it to ſome of his friends, as having, as I thought, for ſome reaſons, deſerved much the contrary from his Lordſhip: they ſaid, to excuſe him, that he was over-run with ſpleen and peeviſhneſs upon the preſent poſture of affairs, and uſed nobody better. It may be new to your Grace to tell you ſome circumſtances of his removal A letter was ſent him by the groom of the Queen's ſtables, to deſire he would break his ſtaff, which would be the eaſieſt way, both to her Majeſty and him. Mr *Smith*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, happened to come in a little after, my Lord broke his ſtaff, and flung the pieces in the chimney, deſiring Mr *Smith* to be witneſs that he had obeyed the Queen's commands, and ſent him to the Queen with a letter, and a meſſage, which Mr *Smith* delivered, and at the ſame time ſurrendered up his own office. The parliament is certainly to be diſſolved, although the day is yet uncertain. The remainder of *Whigs* in employment are reſolved not to reſign, and a certain Lord told me, he had been the giver of that advice, and did in my preſence prevail on an acquaintance of mine in a great poſt to promiſe the ſame thing; only Mr * *Boyle*, they ſay, is reſolved to give up. Every body counts infallibly upon a general removal. The Duke of *Queensberry*, it is ſaid, will be ſteward; my Lord *Cholmondeley* is gone over to the new intereſt with great indignation of his friends. It is affirmed by the *Tories*, that the great motive

* Secretary of State.

motive of these changes was the absolute necessity of a peace, which they thought the *Whigs* were for perpetually delaying. Elections are now managing with greater violence and expence, and more competitors, than ever was known, yet the town is much fuller of the people than usually at this time of the year, waiting until they see some issue of the matter. The Duke of *Ormond* is much talked of for *Ireland*, and I imagine he believeth something of it himself. Mr *Harley* is looked upon as first minister, and may not Lord *Shrewsbery* *, and his Grace helps on the opinion, whether out of policy or truth, upon all occasions professing to stay until he speaks with Mr *Harley*. The Queen continues at *Kensington* indisposed with the gout, of which she hath frequent returns.

I deferred writing to your Grace, as late as I could this post, until I might have something to entertain you: but there is such an universal uncertainty among those who pretend to know most, that little can be depended on. However, it may be some amusement to tell you the sentiments of people here, and, as bad as they are, I am sure they are the best that are stirring; for it is thought there are not three people in *England* entirely in the secret, nor is it sure, whether even those three are agreed in what they intend to do. I am, with great respect,

My Lord,
Your Grace's
Most obedient, and
Most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

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* CHARLES TALBOT, Duke of *Shrewsbery*; who before the demise of Queen *Anne* had been Secretary of State, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to *Louis* XIV. King of *France*; and at the death of her Majesty, he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household; three of the highest places of trust, honour, and profit, never in the hands of one person before. His Grace died without issue, by which the title of Duke became extinct; but the title of *Earl of Shrewsbery* devolved on *Gilbert Talbot*, a Roman Catholic, he next heir.

I have not time to read this and correct the literal miſtakes.

I was to wait on the Duke of *Ormond*, and to ſet him right in the ſtory of the college, about the * ſtatue, *&c.*

LETTER X. †

My Lord, *London, October* 10. 1710.

I Had the honour of your Grace's letter of *Sept.* 16. but I was in no pain to acknowledge it, nor ſhall be at any other time, until I have ſomething that I think worth troubling you, becauſe I am very ſenſible how much an inſignificant letter is worſe than none at all. I had likewiſe the memorial, *&c.* in another pacquet; and I beg your Grace to incloſe whatever pacquets you ſend me (I mean of bulk) under a paper directed to Mr *Steele* ‡, at his office in the cockpit, and not for me at Mr *Steele*'s. I ſhould have been glad the Biſhop had been here, although I take Biſhops to be the worſt ſollicitors in the world, except in their own concerns; they cannot give themſelves the little trouble of attendance that other men are content to ſwallow; elſe, I am ſure, their two Lordſhips might have ſucceeded eaſier than men of my level can reaſonably hope to do.

As ſoon as I received the pacquets, I went to wait upon Mr *Harley* ‖. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate, and got myſelf repreſented (which I might juſtly do) as one extremely ill uſed by the laſt miniſtry, after ſome obligations, becauſe I refuſed to go certain lengths they would have had me. This happened to be in ſome ſort

* Some young gentlemen of the Univerſity took the truncheon out of the right-hand of the equeſtrian ſtatue of King WILLIAM III. on *College-Green*, *Dublin*, and were expelled for it.

† This letter being in part only printed in a former Volume, and being imperfect there in other reſpects, it has been thought proper to print the whole here.

‡ *Sir* RICHARD STEELE, often mentioned in theſe works.

‖ Lord High-Treaſurer of England, afterwards created Earl of *Oxford*.

ſort Mr *Harley*'s own caſe. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and eſteem, as I was whiſpered that he would, and the more, upon the ill uſage I had met with. I ſate with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I gave him a hiſtory of the whole buſineſs, and the ſteps that had been made in it, which he heard as I could wiſh, and promiſed with great readineſs his beſt credit to effect it. I mentioned the difficulties we had met from Lord Lieutenants and their Secretaries, who would not ſuffer others to ſollicit, and neglected it themſelves. He fell in with me intirely, and ſaid, neither they nor himſelf ſhould have the merit of it, but the Queen, to whom he would ſhew my memorial with the firſt opportunity, in order, if poſſible, to have it done in this interregnum. I ſaid, it was a great encouragement to the Biſhops that he was in the treaſury, whom they knew to have been the chief adviſer of the Queen, to grant the ſame favour in *England*. That the honour and merit of this would certainly be his, next the Queen; but that it was nothing to him who had done ſo much greater things; and that for my part, I thought he was obliged to the clergy of *Ireland*, for giving him an occaſion of gratifying the pleaſure he took in doing good to the church. He received my compliment extremely well, and renewed his promiſes with great kindneſs. I forgot to tell your Grace, that when I ſaid I was impowered, *&c.* he deſired to ſee my powers, and then I heartily wiſhed they had been a little more ample; and I have ſince wondered what ſcruple a number of Biſhops could have of impowering a clergyman to do the church and them a ſervice, without any proſpect or imagination of intereſt for himſelf, further than about ten ſhillings a year.

Mr *Harley* hath invited me to dine with him to-day; but I ſhall not put him upon this diſcourſe ſo ſoon. If he begins it himſelf I will add at bottom, whatever there is of moment. He ſaid, Mr Secretary *St John* * deſires to be acquainted with me, and that he will bring

* *Afterwards Lord* Viſcount Bolingbroke.

us together, which may be of further help; although I told him I had no thoughts of applying to any but himſelf, wherein he differed from me, deſiring I would ſpeak to others, if it were but for form; and ſeemed to mean, as if he would avoid the envy of doing things alone. But an old courtier (an intimate friend of mine) with whom I conſulted, adviſed me ſtill to let him know, I relied wholely upon his good inclinations and credit with the Queen. I find I am forced to ſay all this very confuſedly, juſt as it lies in my memory; but, perhaps, it may give your Grace a truer notion of what paſſed, than if I had writ in more order. Beſides, I am forced to omit the greateſt part of what I ſaid, being not proper for a letter at ſuch a diſtance; for I told very freely the late cauſes which had ſtopt this matter, and removed many odious miſrepreſentations, *&c.*

I beg whatever letters are ſent to Biſhops or others in this matter by your Grace or the Primate, may be incloſed to me, that I may ſtifle or deliver them, as the courſe of the affair ſhall require. As for a letter from your Grace to the Queen, you ſay it needs advice; and I am ſure it is not from me, who ſhall not preſume to offer, but perhaps from what I have writ, you may form ſome judgement or other.

As for public affairs, I confeſs I began this letter on a half ſheet, merely to limit myſelf on a ſubject with which I did not know whether your Grace would be entertained. I am not yet convinced that any acceſs to men in power gives a man more truth or light than the politics of a coffee-houſe. I have known ſome great miniſters, who would ſeem to diſcover the very inſide of their hearts, when I was ſure they did not value whether I had proclaimed all they had ſaid at *Charing-Croſs*. But I never knew one great miniſter, who made any ſcruple to mould the alphabet into whatever words he pleaſed, or be more difficult about any facts, than his porter is about that of his Lord's being at home; ſo that whoever hath ſo little to do, as to deſire ſome knowledge in ſecrets of ſtate, muſt compare what he hears from ſeveral great men,

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as from one great man, at ſeveral times, which is equally different People were ſurpriſed, when the court ſtopt its hands as to further removals: the comptroller, a Lord of the Admiralty, and ſome others, told me, they expected every day to be diſmiſſed; but they were all deceived, and the higher Tories are very angry: but ſome time ago at *Hampton-Court*, I picked out the reaſon from a dozen perſons; and told Sir *J. Holland*, I would lay a wager he would not loſe his ſtaff ſo ſoon as he imagined. The miniſtry are afraid of too great a majority of their own ſide, in the Houſe of Commons, and therefore ſtopt ſhort in their changes; yet ſome refiners think they have here gone too far already, for of thirty new members in the preſent elections, about twenty-ſix are Tories. The Duke of *Ormond* ſeemeth ſtill to ſtand the faireſt for *Ireland;* altho' I hear ſome faint hopes they will not nominate very ſoon. The ruin of the late party was owing to a great number, and complication of cauſes which I have had from perſons able enough to inform me, and that is all we can mean by *a good hand*, for the veracity is not to be relied on. The Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*'s removal hath been ſeven years working; that of the Treaſurer above three, and he was to be diſmiſſed before Lord *Sunderland*. Beſides the many perſonal cauſes, that of breaking meaſures ſettled for a peace four years ago, had a great weight, when the *French* had complied with all terms, *&c.* In ſhort, they apprehended the old party to be entirely againſt a peace, for ſome time, until they were rivetted faſt, too faſt to be broke, as they otherwiſe expected, if the war ſhould conclude too ſoon. I cannot tell (for it is juſt come into my head) whether ſome unanimous addreſſes, from thoſe who love the church in *Ireland*, or from *Dublin*, or your Grace and the clergy, might not be ſeaſonable; or, whether my Lord *Wharton*'s being not yet ſuſpended may yet hinder it.

I forgot to tell your Grace, that the memorial I gave Mr *Harley* was drawn up by myſelf, and was an abſtract of what I had ſaid to him; it was as ſhort as